

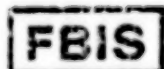
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22 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2002



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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CHIEF INSPECTOR ON NATO 'THREAT,' ARMED FORCES MISSION

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 9, 1982 (signed to press 22 Feb 82) p 3

[Article by Lt Gen Helmut Borufka, chief inspector, National People's Army (NVA): "We Don't Spare Ourselves Where Peace Is Concerned: 26 Years of National People's Army--Reliable Protection of Socialism at the Side of the Soviet Army and Other Fraternal Armies; Erich Honecker's Assessment of the International Situation Demands Our Vigilance"]

[Text] Lt Gen Helmut Borufka, 63, has served in the armed forces since 1949; among other assignments, he exercised leading functions in the GDR Border Troops. From 1962 to 1964 he was a student at the General Staff Academy of the USSR Armed Forces. Following this, he was assigned as a division chief in the ministry for national defense and became chief inspector of the NVA in 1974.

Together with the working class and its allied workers, as well as with the members of the other GDR armed forces, the members and civilian employees of the NVA celebrate the 26th anniversary of the founding of our socialist armed forces on 1 March. They celebrate this event with the realization and with pride in the fact that the NVA, as once again proclaimed by the Tenth SED Congress, is honorably fulfilling its class responsibility of reliably protecting socialist achievements. The NVA became, for the first time in German history, an army which constitutes for the ruling working class and the workers of the GDR a reliable instrument of power which, led and trained by the Marxist-Leninist party, justly bears the name "People's Army." All progressive traditions of German military history, all revolutionary traditions of the German working class are alive in the NVA and find their continuation in exceptional performance--they are the mainspring of development.

It is the highest principle of our state to serve the interests of the working class and the welfare of all the people. During the Tenth SED Congress it was once again emphasized that only a further strengthening of socialist state power will guarantee social progress. The firmly established political and military mission of the NVA corresponds to this revolutionary and humanist concern of our state: reliably to protect the peace along with

the glorious Soviet Army and the other socialist fraternal armies and thereby to create favorable conditions for further progress of socialism and communism.

We are soldiers for the purpose of permitting socialism and the welfare of the working people to thrive in peace. This is particularly true at a time when the international situation is becoming noticeably tense, as Erich Honecker stated on 23 February. This assessment requires our vigilance. Closely tied to the NVA's 26-year history is the growth of our brotherhood in arms with the Soviet Army and the other socialist fraternal armies. The USSR's armed forces always have been and still are our model and example. In the spirit of true proletarian internationalism, our efforts toward increased combat effectiveness and preparedness receive support in many different ways. Many of our generals, admirals and officers receive comprehensive qualifications at Soviet military academies. There are countless examples of cooperation with the "regiment next door."

In the NVA's history too, the period after the Eighth SED Congress constituted one of the most successful stages of its development. Based on a general strengthening and further expansion of the socialist order, there occurred comprehensive changes which affected all aspects of military life.

Unequivocal Partisanship With Socialism

This constitutes a significant increase in the demands made upon all army members. Their ideological indoctrination and moral firmness, their mastery of combat techniques are becoming deciding factors to a greater extent than in the past as preconditions and components of high peacetime combat readiness and for success in armed combat. The army members' certainty of fighting at the right side of the barricades, their clear commitment to socialism, is of substantial significance. Promoting the basic conviction of the justice, defense worthiness and victoriousness of our social order, to create firm insights and standards therefrom, is a high priority task of communist indoctrination in the NVA.

World peace is seriously threatened by the machinations of imperialism's most aggressive circles, especially the United States and its NATO partners, and has caused the international situation to deteriorate markedly. Historically put on the defensive, imperialism is attempting by any means to retrieve its lost positions. With reckless arms buildups, the United States and NATO are making useless efforts to change the existing approximate military strategic balance in their favor.

As a result of the Brussels NATO missile decision of December 1979 and the NATO counterarming program a new strategic potential is supposed to be created in Europe. The Bundeswehr, being the strongest conventional NATO armed force in Europe, occupies a central position in this intensified, confrontation-directed course. With its anti-communist indoctrination and modern weapons, it is, apart from the U.S. Armed Forces, one of the most dangerous imperialist instruments of power.

Its mission is military threat and aggression, inasmuch as the FRG is the only state in Europe which attempts to change existing borders established by international law and which makes territorial demands on other countries. This explains also why FRG military expenditures are the second highest in NATO after the United States. In view of the increasing preparations for war by the United States and its NATO partners it is more necessary than ever to make every effort for preserving world peace.

SED Leadership--Main Source of Our Success

The main source of our successes in securing the peace today and in the future is the leadership by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the indivisible tie between the people and the army. The unity of the people and the army is a never exhausted, truly permanent source of moral solidarity and strength for our army and for the stability of our entire national defense. It finds its expression in innumerable demonstrations of cordial relationships of all strata of the population with its soldiers. As a result of the circumspect leadership of our army by the central committee and its Politburo, based on the GDR's growing economic potential, it has been possible during the past 26 years to maintain defense readiness and defense capability in conformity with requirements. Under the motto "Combat position Tenth Party Congress--high combat readiness! Everything for the people's welfare!", the members of all components of the armed forces and the civilian employees of the NVA are performing superbly in the socialist competition. Stimulated by party decisions, following the example of its members, the non-party army members too strive for excellent performance in political and military training, in the active duty system and on combat duty.

The soldiers of the NVA know what it is that they are protecting, and they are loyal to the party's doctrine: peace is all-important! They are aware also of the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear missile war. "Precisely because we, as soldiers, know this," said the Minister for National Defense, General of the Army Heinz Hoffmann, to the delegates of the Tenth SED Congress "and because we want to protect our wives and our children, young and old from it; because we want to see our daughters and sons, our grandchildren and great-grandchildren grow up in good health and work for human progress and for their welfare--that is why we don't spare ourselves in the preservation of the working peoples' most prized asset--peace!"

Loyal to their oath of service, the members of the NVA, along with their brothers in arms and together with the other GDR forces of law and order, will in the future also protect the peaceful existence of all the citizens of our republic and all states of the socialist community against any attack by imperialism's most aggressive forces.

9273

CSO: 2300/213

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ROCKET, ORDNANCE SERVICE CHIEF OUTLINES TRAINING TASKS

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 2, 1982 (signed to press 12 Jan 82)
pp 57-59

[Interview with Maj Gen Hampel, chief, Rocket and Ordnance Service, Ministry of National Defense (date and place not indicated): "On a Few Important Tasks of the Rocket and Ordnance Service Following the 10th SED Congress"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General, you are responsible for rocket and ordnance maintenance. What do you consider the most important tasks of the Rocket and Ordnance Service to be in the foreseeable future ?

[Answer] Thanks to our party and the achievements of the working men and women of our country, the NVA at all times received the necessary modern weapons it needed as well as the combat, command and maintenance equipment. That will continue in the future. We who belong to the Rocket and Ordnance Service are proud of the fact that by supplying rocket and ordnance maintenance we are making a contribution to maintaining a high level of combat readiness of the NVA so that it can at all times fulfill the class task assigned to it by the 10th SED congress, shoulder-to-shoulder with our brothers in arms of the Red Army and the other fraternal socialist armies. It is our task to provide the armed forces with overall, appropriate and timely maintenance of rocket equipment, weaponry and ammunition and to maintain combat readiness of the equipment jointly with its users.

The 10th SED congress has called upon all members of the armed forces to be fully conversant with the military equipment available. This requires the members of the Rocket and Ordnance Service to participate in the training process personally, which is to say to see to it that training equipment is available and to take a personal part in training and instruction.

The specialists of our service must familiarize themselves with the latest results of scientific-technological progress quickly and thoroughly in order to do justice to their job of instructing the service personnel and the crews themselves in the use, servicing and repair of the equipment. It depends in large measure on the abilities of the specialists of our service whether the performance parameters of the Rocket and Ordnance Service are fully satisfied. Together with their superiors at all levels of command, the specialists of the Rocket and Ordnance Service must see to it that the combat collectives make effective use of the military equipment and can fulfill their combat assignments.

[Question] Would you be good enough to tell us about some other tasks your service will have to fulfill during the 1981/82 training year ?

[Answer] Taking account of the present state of development of rocket equipment, weaponry and ammunition, we must see that they are operational from the first hour of use in cooperation with the service branches and services. Operational readiness at all times of rocket equipment, weaponry and ammunition must be assured by exerting greater influence on the utilization process, on proper maintenance and high-quality repair work. It is more important than ever to work out long-range utilization and repair concepts in order to make sure that rocket equipment, weaponry and ammunition is properly utilized throughout the entire utilization phase and at the same time that military-economic demands on maintenance are fully satisfied. There is much progress being made in fulfilling these military-economic requirements; but this is a process that never stops. Any available reserves must be tapped.

Training and continuing instruction of Rocket and Ordnance Service personnel must be perfected further and must take the requirements of the eighties and beyond into full consideration.

In the field of innovation, the focus will be on the further development of ways and means of effective maintenance and on a stepped-up program of building simulators, demonstrators and training equipment so as to improve training and cut down on the wear and tear of combat equipment. Even greater attention must be given to economizing on resources, material, spare parts and energy.

In order to be able to supply the armed forces properly and on time with ammunition and spare parts in particular, it will be necessary to optimize transportation, transshipment and storage procedures.

Last but not least I would point to the tried-and-true maxim "to learn from the Soviet Union is to learn to win" and say that we must see to it that our cooperation and exchange of information with the corresponding Soviet service branches and specialists is intensified further.

[Question] As you have already said, the NVA has modern rocket equipment and weaponry at its disposal. But the scientific-technological progress reflected in this is not automatically converted into combat effectiveness. What, in your opinion, should the military combat collectives do in order to satisfy the demand for conscious and masterful command of rocket equipment and weaponry ?

[Answer] The NVA possesses modern equipment and is well trained. Constantly new equipment at the disposal of our own armed forces and information about similar developments on the NATO side make it incumbent upon us to improve training continuously, to provide stable and well thought-out utilization procedures and to give overall, anticipatory consideration to potential combat conditions. The crews, the service and repair personnel and, most of all, the immediate superiors of these combat collectives must use all their

strength, knowledge and abilities to see to it that the most effective operational use of rocket equipment and weaponry is assured at all times along with the full utilization of its performance parameters and proper and timely repair schedules. To do this, both combat and maintenance personnel must have a masterful command of rocket equipment and weaponry.

A prerequisite for this is political education and specialized military training directed toward this end as well as assignment of armed forces personnel to jobs that correspond to their abilities and their prior education.

We must be familiar with the experiences of the Red Army with regard to operational use, maintenance and repair of rocket equipment and weaponry and to adapt them, if possible. The cooperation among groups of specialists, particularly of the GSFG and the NVA, must be further expanded.

In day-to-day training and maintenance, combat collectives and/or individual members of the armed forces, as equipment users, should be working together with the technical personnel. Both in training and maintenance, crews, maintenance and repair personnel must acquire an optimum level of familiarity with their weaponry in terms of technical and functional expertise. The combat collectives are to be given the kind of training that will enable them to assist the repair crews in replacing modules and in repair work in the field.

Abilities and aptitudes required for conducting functional controls, reviews, checkouts, tunings and adjustments must be developed further. Training for the assessment of damaged weaponry and subsequent repair must make full use of mobile control, test and service stations as well as workshops.

It is also particularly important to check weaponry out prior to and during operational use--particularly prior to combat training and during halts en route.

[Question] The Rocket and Ordnance Service is also responsible for supplying the units with rockets and ammunition. What tasks for all members of the armed forces but particularly for those belonging to your service does this call for?

[Answer] The steadily increasing diversity of rockets and ammunition both in kind and functional design calls on all members of the armed forces but particularly on those belonging to the Rocket and Ordnance Service to acquire more and more information so as to assure the supply of rockets and ammunition and guarantee their operational use.

There are some things I would like to stress in particular:

Every member of the armed forces must be trained in the use of ammunition, in particular of hand grenades and non-structural anti-tank weapons of his unit (at least of the company, battery and the like). He must be familiar with the design, effect and the safety regulations pertaining to this particular type of ammunition.

The members of the Rocket and Ordnance Service must see to the proper, timely supply of rockets and ammunition in conformance with the duties of their job, giving particular attention to meeting specific demands and optimizing transport, transshipping and storage procedures.

In order to assure operational readiness of rockets and ammunition, all those responsible must see to it that the prescribed procedures in the following fields are fully adhered to:

In storage, offloading as well as review and maintenance;

In ammunition general inspections; in physical-chemical laboratory tests and ballistic checks and

In control work on rockets.

It is extremely important for the proper utilization of the rockets and of ammunition as well as for timely maintenance procedures that there is technical verification of the ammunition with the aid of data processing methods. But this technical verification will meet all the requirements only if the members of the Rocket and Ordnance Service responsible for it conscientiously record all primary data for the data processing project and constantly check on the accuracy of the data carriers.

[Question] What you have said and the tasks you have enumerated lead us to conclude that a great deal of military-economic work has to be done. How do you think, comrade major general, could this work be handled even more efficiently?

[Answer] All military-economic activity focuses on the call issued by the 12th conference of delegates of the SED party organizations in the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR: "Everyone in his particular place bears the responsibility for the most efficient use of material and financial means placed at our disposal by the state in the interest of combat readiness."

For the members of the Rocket and Ordnance Service this means assuring operational readiness at all times of rocket equipment, weaponry and ammunition as well as combat training while contributing substantially to combat readiness of the units with an acceptable economic effort that is as small as possible.

What points do I think need to be stressed in the military-economic sector of our work?

The commands of our service at all levels must give greater and more concrete attention to the economic aspects of our military tasks. That means that in training the members of our armed forces and our civilian employees, we must think in terms of every penny spent, of every projectile and every hour of equipment use. Cost effectiveness considerations must precede operational use of weaponry as well as training methodology and repair procedures.

Analysis of military-economic procedures peculiar to our service should also be a regular ingredient of the command process.

Controls in the military-economic field must include review and reassessment of needs, standards, verification, repair and storage procedures as well as junking and reclaiming materials and precious metals in particular.

In the area of material economy, the emphasis must be on lowering costs for spare parts as against the basic budget. One way to do this is to rebuild used parts and to increase our own production of spare parts in repair shops according to the guidelines I have put out. For another thing, consumption and inventory norms need to be worked out and fine-tuned according to newly approved regulations.

In connection with cutting down on the use of materials and energy, let me say that I am looking forward to major savings in the use of ammunition of all kinds as a consequence of the increased use of educational, instruction and training equipment as well as improved basic training procedures and the outstandingly successful competitions called "A Hit on the First Shot, the First Grenade, Anti-Aircraft Rocket and Guided Missile" and "Maximum Accuracy of Artillery Fire."

It is also a matter of using equivalent caliber ammunition instead of combat ammunition on some weapons systems for training purposes, which will lower consumption in training. The initial constructive measures introduced by the chief of the Rocket Troops and Ground Forces Artillery are worthy of note in this connection.

With respect to the utilization of rocket equipment, weaponry and ammunition, the Rocket and Ordnance Service must exercise more of an influence on technology and maintenance which is to say on adherence to maintenance schedules and performance parameters in the course of combat training. The utilization plans must be evaluated on a more regular basis and used to work out proposals for changes in utilization standards. The quality of maintenance will have to be improved and repair times following breakdowns shortened.

Maintenance must be tightly directed and organized, particularly of course with respect to combat training equipment. This also includes exercising goal-oriented influence on the interrelationship between operational use and maintenance of rocket equipment and weaponry.

[Question] For years now, members of the Rocket and Ordnance Service have excelled in innovative achievements. What tasks are to be tackled by innovators of your service on a priority basis?

[Answer] The results of the work done by innovators of the Rocket and Ordnance Service have contributed greatly to satisfying the steadily growing needs of rocket and weapons equipment supply. The innovators' work was and will remain to be an integral part of the command function of the chief and director of the Rocket and Weapons Equipment Service at all levels of command. The innovators' work has gained a firm place in the programs and obligations of the collectives within the framework of socialist competition.

These are important prerequisites that will help attract the majority of members of our armed forces and the civilian employees to innovative activity and translate their ideas into reality.

We must build on what has already been achieved. We must generalize from the practical knowledge acquired and see to it that differences in standards among the branches of service are overcome wherever they still exist. In innovative work, everyone should take his cue from the finest examples of plan fulfillment, quality and intrinsic value. In this connection, I would particularly like to mention the offices of comrades Colonel Lindner, Lieutenant Colonel Ganter, Lieutenant Colonel Kegel and Major Meier who for years have been doing outstanding work in this field and have been responsible for superior innovations to heighten combat readiness and maintenance efficiency. At this point, I would also like to mention the excellent cooperation with our Soviet friends of the GSFC which has helped us come up with a number of first-rate innovations.

The concrete tasks assigned to innovative work in the coming training years are contained in the appropriate plans. They are of course derived from the duties and tasks assigned to our service and we will be drawing up a balance sheet at the innovators' conference of the Rocket and Ordnance Service in October 1982.

At this juncture, I would like to propose the following tasks to the innovators and all members of my service which are to be solved within the framework of the innovators' movement:

Guaranteeing high combat efficiency of rocket equipment, weaponry and ammunition as well as combat and technical training;

Further developing of ways and means of improving the quality and efficiency of maintenance and repair work;

Creating additional working models, simulators, teaching models, training facilities and instruction materials; intensifying training as well as lowering the consumption of utilization resources, fuel and energy while simultaneously enhancing vividness;

Working out rational procedures for all transport, storage and transshipping activities and

Formulating proposals and solutions leading to rational use of material and financial resources and to calculable savings in materials and spare parts.

But I would also like to point out that there is a need for further improvement of work on, transmission, utilization and secondary use of innovations. Control activity in the innovations sector must be tied even more to effective help and guidance.

To assure goal-oriented achievement of valuable innovations, officers of the Rocket and Ordnance Service are assigned to work with the innovators and the innovator collectives in accordance with tasks outlined in the plan. We must also see to it that each time an innovation is approved measures are introduced to assure its secondary use.

In closing, I would like express my gratitude for being given an opportunity to give my views on some of the important tasks assigned to the Rocket and Ordnance Service by the 10th SED congress in MILITAERTECHNIK. I would also like to wish the members of our service in particular much success in fulfilling their duty to afford our socialist homeland reliable protection.

9478

C30: 2300/222

ARTISTIC WORKS 'REFLECTING SOCIALIST LIFE' TO BE PROMOTED

East Berlin NEUER Weg in German Vol 37 No 5, 1982 (signed to press 25 Feb 82)
pp 172-174

/Article by Ursula Ragwitz, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Culture Department, SED CC: "Development of Art and Culture--A Task for Each Basic Organization." Other items of related information are published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Art to Follow More Closely 'Principles of Socialist Realism,'" (interview with Dr Horst Kolodziej, first secretary, GDR Association of Plastic Arts), 80198, 26 Feb 82, No 1981, pp 4-6; "Socialist Realism to Be Applied 'More Precisely' in Music," 80140, 19 Feb 82, No 1977, pp 48-50; and "Dramatists Urged Not to Neglect Sociopolitical Issues," 80054, 8 Feb 82, No 1973, pp 1-4/

/Text/ Culture and art have an enormous and still increasing importance for the implementation of party policy as resolved upon by the Tenth SED Congress. The rise in economic performance in the dimensions planned by the Third Central Committee Plenum makes growing demands on the intellectual-cultural standards, the socialist morals and ethics, the creativity and activism of the working people in the GDR. As Comrade Erich Honecker put it at the conference of the first secretaries of kreis leadership organizations on 12 February last, an even more effective contribution to peace and the organization of the developed socialist society is expected from literature and art.

This fact is considered and discussed as a significant element determining the work of the basic organizations and an important demand in the course of the current party elections.

How does it proceed, and what are the basic aspects of the matter?

The changed conditions and more advanced demands, the principle that there must be constant agreement between the socioeconomic development of our country and the advance of intellectual-cultural life also assign the party organizations a greater responsibility in the realization of the party's cultural policy. It is necessary to organize a rich intellectual life, encourage the full development of the cultural needs and abilities of the working people.

The resources of culture must be used for a specific contribution to the evolution of the working people's creativity, their readiness and will to perform. This task must be carried out generally in combines, enterprises, cooperatives, facilities and institutions, in cities as well as in rural areas.

"The work of party organizations and party managements should no longer be measured only by their fulfillment of the indices of state plans in the field of the economy but also by their encouragement of cultural life, their constant concern for the intellectual-cultural development of workers and cooperative farmers, youth and all strata of the public as well as for a sound relationship with the creators of culture." (Kurt Hager, "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik" /Contributions to Cultural Policy/ Berlin 1981, p 185.

Deepen Socialist Consciousness

In this connection there is another aspect that determines the thoughts of the basic organizations: To everywhere improve the intellectual-cultural conditions for the necessary rise in performance requires the party organizations to utilize culture and art in order even more effectively to deepen the socialist consciousness of the working people. We must improve the ideological efficacy of intellectual-cultural life. All the potential of culture and art must be mobilized for deepening socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, for securing peace by strengthening socialism and defending its achievements. This includes the need by the resources of art and culture to disseminate the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the values and ideals of socialism, and to contribute to the improvement of technical skills.

The following conclusion applies to each party organization: The further organization of the developed socialist society is indivisibly linked with the consolidation of the socialist convictions and attitudes of the working people, the increase in their pleasure in work and their zest for life as well as the social well-being of the socialist society.

Included in this task is quite particularly the need to encourage special gifts and abilities, inspire the urge to discovery and the use of the imagination, ensure a high standard of entertainment and socializing, organize a civilized environment and induce many occasions to gain familiarity with art. It is even more important to promote the principle of collectivism, solidarity and community, so vital to socialism by the organization of cultural events and activities. The further improvement of intellectual-cultural conditions conducive to a rise in economic performance also means everywhere to respond to the growing cultural needs of the working people and their more challenging demands on literature and art generally. They arise mainly from the changes in the work process by means of science and technology, the improvement in the standard of education and the smooth flowing rise in the working people's material and cultural standard of living.

In many party organizations the party elections provide an opportunity to reflect how more imaginatively and efficiently to use the material-technological base and the financial funds of culture. Here we start with the thought that the improvement of the efficiency of labor in the cultural field means primarily the improvement of cultural efficacy. One approach is that of overcoming the still persisting and quite unjustified differences in intellectual-cultural standards.

At the Tenth SED Congress Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out that our efforts must focus on the steady betterment of working class cultural standards and performances for the development of socialist literature and art. This process occurs mainly in the work collective, in the struggle to raise productivity, to carry on the scientific-technological revolution, in the socialist competition, the active involvement

of workers in the management and planning of the further perfection of socialist democracy. At the same time the Tenth SED Congress emphasized that the traditional movement "to work, study and live as socialists" is one of the proven ways to raise working class cultural standards. This is done by the active political efforts of the comrades in the labor union. They do their best to see that all enterprises devote the proper attention to this movement. In concrete terms this means helping the more than 255,000 production collectives and their roughly 4.6 million members to understand what the slogan "to work, study and live as socialists" means in the 1980's.

In the course of the party elections the party organization will be able to prove that thousands of work collectives are responding by the better quality of their competition programs following the Tenth SED Congress and the Third SED Central Committee Plenum. Challenging competition obligations link experienced work collectives especially more and more consciously with the encouragement of the practical and intellectual abilities of brigade members. They include in their culture and education plans such projects as will enable them to well accomplish the tasks of the socialist competition and actively participate in the political development, the precise definition of the culture and lifestyle of the developed socialist society.

"Where do we want our collective to head in the next plan segment? What are our strong points? Where do we still experience difficulties? How can we achieve an advanced standard in our attitude to work and our active social involvement?" In its discussion of the 1982 projects of its culture and education plan such issues engaged the collective "F.E. Dzierzynski" in the East Iron and Steel Works Combine which has twelve times successfully defended the title "collective of socialist labor."

Encourage a Creative Atmosphere on the Job

Similar issues are discussed by other collectives also, often at the suggestion of communists. The party organizations help them find the right answers. What is the orientation?

More than ever we are concerned with actions designed to consolidate socialist attitudes and behavior and to encourage a creative atmosphere on the job. Coupled with this orientation is the conclusion that it is necessary for the appropriate managements further to improve the standard of guidance, the passing on of experiences, and to assist the hundreds of thousands of part-time culture officials. The following figures will help demonstrate the importance of this matter for the politico-ideological work of the basic organizations. At the last labor union elections some 400,000 part-time culture officials were elected, including more than 300,000 culture chairpersons in labor union groups. Their initiative is crucial in such matters as, for example, how to respond to and handle the 200,000 proposals submitted on intellectual-cultural issues by the working people in the labor union elections.

The implementation of the ten key issues of our economic strategy is linked with growing challenges to the quality of socialist work environment. After all, its main concern is to bring to bear the progressive and humanist nature of science and technology for the improvement of our economic strength and the cultural standards of the working people, for the improvement of working and living conditions and the

development of personalities. The quality of socialist work environment in all its aspects represents a key factor in the development of socialist culture. The resolutions of the Third SED Central Committee Plenum establish new criteria for the politico-ideological work of the basic organizations in this field also.

The party organizations increasingly acknowledge that the party as a whole is responsible for the creation of socialist-realist works of art and, therefore, politico-ideological work with writers and artists. To be the discoverer and co-shaper of the socialist reality requires close and vital links between writers and artists on the one hand and the life of the people on the other. The challenging demands established at the Tenth SED Congress regarding the quality and efficacy of art in the 1980's consequently represents an invitation to even more productively organize the alliance between working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and all other working people and writers and artists, with the politico-ideological leadership of the basic organizations.

Many party organizations already involve themselves in the close cooperation between working people and professional artists and promote the creation of works of art by commissions characterizing the role of the working class and reflecting socialist life. At the same time the party organizations assist in broad and vital discussions of art, maintain close links with artists associations, houses of culture and other cultural facilities. They devote particular attention to folk art.

The high standard of intellectual-cultural life in the republic is the result of the successful realization of socialist cultural policy as a firm element in the party's overall policy. More and more basic organizations have long-range conceptions for the development of intellectual-cultural life or certain sectors thereof, for example the quality of work environment, the encouragement of folk art, cooperation with professional artists, the work of enterprise cultural facilities, the organization of enterprise festivals or cultural cooperation in the region.

This far-sighted orientation increases the influence and example of communists. The responsibilities of all state managers and social forces are more consistently observed, and intellectual-cultural life is thus even more closely linked with total societal development.

11698
CSO: 2300/206

JUSTICE OFFICIAL QUERIED ON ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Feb 82 p 9

[Interview with Dr Ferenc Petrik, deputy minister of justice, by Jozsef Fahidy: "State Administrative Procedures"]

[Text] Dr Ferenc Petrik was born in 1933. He obtained his law degree in 1956 in the state and legal sciences school of the Lorand Eotvos Science University. He has been a candidate attorney, court clerk and leading council judge and worked in various positions in the codification department of the Ministry of Justice. Since 1978, he has been deputy minister of justice.

On 16 April 1981, the National Assembly passed Law No 1, 1981, concerning general rules for state administrative procedures. Adoption of the law ended only the first part of a general review of regulations. This was followed in 1981 by a revision of special procedural norms extending to every branch, bringing the regulations into harmony with the law and invalidating unnecessary or obsolete regulations.

What has been the result of this large-scale regulatory work? This was the question asked of Dr Ferenc Petrik, deputy minister of justice, by our colleague Jozsef Fahidy.

[Answer] Several hundred regulations, laws, government decrees and ministerial decrees had to be reviewed and then modified or declared invalid. The earlier procedural law, Law No 4, 1957, permitted differing regulation in a relatively broad sphere by ministers and leaders of organs with national authority. But the new law, with the exception of a few procedures, makes the application of the general rules obligatory in a number of types of state administrative procedures. By reviewing these regulations, we succeeded in reducing the quantity of legal material being covered and made regulation easier to review. In the various procedures, without regard to the branch involved, such important aspects as, for example, the time limits to take care of petitions and requests or the system of legal redress, became uniform. The modernization of state administrative procedural law creates a real possibility for further improvement in state administrative work.

[Question] Did the sphere of state administrative decisions that can be contested before the court change?

[Answer] The new procedural law maintained the review system for state administrative decisions before the court; only those state administrative decisions listed by a separate regulation can be contested before the court.

But the new regulations--in the interest of an increased defense of the legal rights of citizens and a consistent realization of legality--brought together in a single decree those state administrative decisions that can be contested before the court and expanded the sphere of these, in a few cases. For example, as of 1 January 1982, one can contest before the court state administrative decisions appointing guardians or trustees or authorizing or denying adoption.

[Question] What made it necessary to allow contesting before the court decisions appointing guardians or trustees?

[Answer] According to the law concerning general rules for state administrative procedures, decisions affecting the fundamental personal, family and property rights of citizens can be reviewed by the court. A state administrative decision appointing a guardian or trustee is such a decision. A guardian takes care of a juvenile under his care, manages his property and is his legal representative. If someone is placed under care, affecting his ability to act, because he lacks the insight needed to handle his affairs, the rights of the appointed trustee are similar to those of a guardian. So both the guardian and the trustee will be exercising basic and important personal and property rights, which can have a profound effect on the ward. Thus, extending court review to this area could aid the appropriate exercise of rights connected with guardianship and trusteeship and could make possible better supervision than before.

[Question] What justifies contesting adoption decisions before the court?

[Answer] In the wake of a decision authorizing adoption, the family status of the juvenile changes for his entire life, and the personal, family and property rights of the adoptive and blood parents change also. A decision denying adoption affects all those involved to a large degree also, but in the contrary way. In regard to state administrative decisions in this sphere also, it is justified to ensure the possibility of court review.

[Question] The Council of Ministers recently passed a resolution concerning legal guidelines.

[Answer] Publishing legal guidelines is one of the necessary methods of guidance activity by ministries and organs with national authority. But this possibility can be abused. Just objections connected with excesses in the use of this method came up 10 years ago. Studies have shown that about 2,000 to 3,000 legal guidelines were published in the past 5 years. Such a large number of guidelines complicate reviewing the legal system, restrain local initiative and increase the disadvantages of overregulation, not to

speak of the fact that more than one guideline was not in harmony with valid regulations.

So the Council of Ministers passed a resolution concerning legal guidelines, technical norms and quantitative provisions in order to increase the efficiency of central guidance, increase the independence of local organs, prevent over-regulation and facilitate review of the legal system.

[Question] Why do the ministries publish so many guidelines? Aren't the provisions in the regulations enough?

[Answer] Both the regulations and the ad hoc measures have a role in the guidance activity of the ministries and organs with national authority. In the regulations the ministers establish generally binding behavioral rules. When they take action in individual cases, they provide concrete guides for the organ under their supervision or guidance. The legal guidelines--by their nature--fall between these two forms; they are not regulations but deal with the interpretation of the regulations or provide a practical guide, not in an individual matter but of a general character.

So the justification of the legal guidelines, alongside the regulations, cannot be disputed. That excess in the area of guidelines is harmful is another question, for legal overregulation must be avoided. That so many guidelines appeared in the past decade can be attributed to the fact that our central guidance system frequently interfered unjustifiably in the activity of local organs. This was also interdependent with an attitude of the local organs, which waited for higher guidance even in questions of detail. Linked to all this was a concept that overestimated the role of law or felt it simpler to issue a guideline than to create the personal or material conditions for execution of the regulations.

[Question] What kinds of guidelines can be issued?

[Answer] A quite varied, we might say confusing, situation developed in the area of publishing and designating legal guidelines in the past decade. The scale of leaders issuing guidelines was very broad too--ranging from ministers to deputy department chiefs in the ministries. There were many ways of designating guidelines, too--positions, recommendations, professional guiding principles, methodological letters, orientation notices, guides, general provisions, measures, etc. On the basis of the new Council of Ministers resolution, legal guidelines can be issued only by the minister or his deputy or--in exceptional cases--by a higher leader of the ministry empowered by him to do so. This is also the guide for organs with national authority.

Instead of the guidelines with so many names and contents, it is now possible to issue only three kinds--positions of principle, guiding principles and bulletins. Guiding principles make recommendations regarding the chief direction and methods for carrying out some regulation or the principles to be followed in applying a law. The bulletin publishes the facts or data that the organs responsible for execution must know to carry out their tasks.

[Question] The Council of Ministers resolution also deals with technical norms. What does this term mean?

[Answer] A technical norm is similar to a standard. It is a prescription that defines procedures, methods or requirements on the basis of the achievements of science, technology or practice. Also, characteristically that it is applied not primarily in regard to the application of law but rather in the course of production or trade, technical or administrative work.

According to the new Council of Ministers resolution, a technical norm need not be formulated in a regulation but can be published in a *communiqué*. This is a simplification from the earlier situation, when a special regulation had to be made for every technical norm. The advantages of the simplification are especially striking if we consider that the rules about determining and publishing technical norms must be appropriately applied in regard to, for example, statistical identification codes, consumer goods nomenclature and domestic trade classification conditions.

[Question] Will there be fewer circular letters and ordinances?

[Answer] The number of legal guidelines will probably decrease. The Council of Ministers resolution emphasizes strongly that legal guidelines can be issued only in absolutely necessary cases and that new rights or obligations cannot be established in them. Also the number of legal guidelines will decrease as, during review of the guidelines, those that had been superseded are "scrapped." But if there really is to be a decrease, there must be a substantial attitudinal change in regard to both guidance activity and the activity of local organs themselves.

8984

CSO: 2500/165

PROF. L. PASTUSIAK INTERVIEWED ON U.S. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Warsaw GROMADA-ROLNIK POLSKI in Polish No 1, 7 Feb 82 p 7

[Interview by Mariusz Kulinski: "What Is the Purpose of U.S. Economic Sanctions"]

[Text] Late last year, in response to the imposition of martial law in our country, President Ronald Reagan applied economic sanctions unprecedented in contemporary international relations against Poland and the Soviet Union. He suspended all U.S. Government-supported shipping of dairy and farm products to Poland. The only exemption is shipments via private humanitarian channels, as he put it. Moreover, Reagan announced a halt on the renewal of governmental credit guarantees to the Export-Import Bank, suspension of Polish civilian aviation rights in the United States, repeal of the fishing quota for Polish fishermen on U.S. waters. He also appealed to American allies to step up restrictions on sales of advanced technology to Poland.

The PAP journalist requested an elucidation of the background of these U.S. decisions from Longin Pastusiak, a political scientist specializing in American issues and professor at the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism.

[Answer] In U.S. political practices, external economic policy is interrelated with foreign policy objectives to a much greater extent than in other capitalist countries. Postwar history provides much evidence of that. Let's just recall the Battle Act, a 1951 law that introduced extensive lists of "strategic goods" covered by embargo in commercial trade with the socialist countries. Most of those commodities had nothing in common with strategic significance. On U.S. initiative, many restrictions on commerce with socialist countries were adopted by NATO. Various government institutions have for years operated in the United States to examine compatibility of commercial transactions with socialist countries with the goals of U.S. foreign policy.

[Question] The tone of President Reagan's speech of 23 December was unusually emotional and the sanctions that he applied against our country are serious. What could have caused this arrogant response of the U.S. government to the declaration of martial law in Poland?

[Answer] Reagan's government is the most conservative administration since the time of Herbert Hoover (1929-1933). The sanctions against Poland serve overall ideological purposes of contemporary conservatism that is the dominating trend in the United States. Across its whole range it is recognized that detente should not be the chief determinant factor in the U.S. position toward the USSR and the socialist states.

The United States and its allies, the conservatives proclaim, should build up their armed forces and resolutely defend the value system of the capitalist world against--they claim--a growing challenge from the USSR. In their opinion, the randomly persisting areas of East-West cooperation do not constitute a foundation for building confidence in the USSR and socialist countries.

The abruptness of the U.S. response can also be interpreted through the failure of the developments to follow a course anticipated by U.S. policymakers. The Americans had predicted to the world on several occasions that there would be Soviet intervention in Poland. Doubts were expressed as to the Polish army's loyalty toward its government and allies. Meantime, we are putting our affairs in order on our own and the doubts about the Polish Army proved to be imaginary.

The American response also originated in the lack of realistic possibilities to influence developments in our country, especially under martial law. The U.S. Government realizes that the restrictions of martial law will be gradually released--such is the internal logic of the situation. Descending from a high C--that is, limiting the extent of sanctions--Reagan will attempt to credit his own policy for relaxation of martial law regulations.

[Question] Is it possible to refer to the United States' playing out the "Polish card" in East-West relations?

[Answer] I dislike the term "Polish card." We must remember that, although Polish-American relations have been fairly good--and, I hope, will return to their normal condition--Poland has never been regarded in Washington as an independent partner in the American strategy. Washington's main focus in the postwar period, actually since Roosevelt's time, has always been the Soviet Union. Even when Washington evolved from the mid-1950's to a policy of what is termed differentiated handling of the European socialist countries, in its conduct toward them it has always been guided by the criterion of what extent a specified political course toward a given country can strengthen or weaken the Soviet Union.

[Question] Did the imposition of the sanctions surprise you as an expert on American matters?

[Answer] As destabilization in Poland progressed, the United States tried to pressure the Polish authorities, e.g., by conditioning the extent of credit and other forms of economic assistance on the Polish authorities' attitudes toward internal opposition. On the eve of the arrival of an official delegation from Poland early last April, the White House announced that the magnitude of credits to be granted would depend on the attitude of the Polish Government toward "internal forces," which was criticized as a "slip-up" even by the leading American newspapers; e.g., the WASHINGTON POST and the NEW YORK TIMES.

[Question] Is it possible to refer to a coherent policy of the current U.S. administration toward Poland?

[Answer] President Reagan has declared, and continues to declare, that no outside force should interfere with the affairs of our country and that Poles should resolve their problems on their own. He contradicts this, however, by his own behavior, interfering in Poland's affairs and virtually hampering their solution by Poles themselves. Unfortunately, in the United States some forces are convinced that the United States would reap enormous political profit globally if a situation could be provoked in which a Soviet intervention in Poland would take place, for instance, to protect strategic transport routes. The danger of such provocation has been noticed, however. Representatives of certain American banks were publicly expressing their hopes that an invasion of Soviet troops in Poland would ensure prompt repayment of their loans.

Only very naive people can count in this situation on pro-Polish sentiment on account of Kosciuszko and Pulaski's share in the United States' struggle for independence. Unfortunately, the Polish "lobby" in the United States--in contradistinction to several other lobbies--is weak, primarily due to the fragmentation of the Polish ethnic group, whose majority continues to negate the realities of the postwar balance of power in Europe.

President Reagan claims that his measures are directed against the authorities rather than against Polish society. This is not only contradictory but downright absurd, as evident to any consumer of bread, meat and poultry in Poland.

In his speech of 15 October 1981 in Philadelphia, President Reagan outlined the principles for a so-called strategy of global development. He declared at the time that among the lasting foundations of that strategy is his country's striving to "support growth and development in different countries of the world by developing our bilateral relations." The sanctions of 22 December of last year are, however, a disaffirmation of these words as well as of the strategy in question.

Pressuring Western Europe to withdraw from concluding contracts for fuel deliveries from the Soviet Union because this allegedly leads to a dangerous dependence, Washington evidently believes that everything is fine if we are prevented for political reasons from taking advantage of earlier acquired licenses. Yet in the 1970's Poland purchased many licenses in the United States that were applicable to none but American raw materials and components, from Coca-Cola on. Current refusal to sell such components and raw materials not only contradicts basic commercial ethics, of which so much is said in the United States.

It also undermines trust in the United States as an economic partner and signatory to international agreements. It is hard to escape drawing conclusions from this for the future.

[Question] What other instruments, other than economic, is the U.S. Government using in its attempts to influence the situation in Poland?

[Answer] Foreign propaganda, most of all. To amass resources for propaganda, cultural and scientific exchanges, among other things, were reduced by as much as 56 percent. In the recent period, the number of Voice of America broadcasting hours in Polish was increased, and the aggressive tone of the radio stations has been significantly stepped up.

[Question] What internal forces stand behind that policy?

[Answer] Reagan had been brought to power not by those forces that see their interests in growth of East-West trade but by the forces that find their support primarily in the huge armaments industry of the American West Coast.

8795

CSO: 2600/405

RESERVATIONS REGARDING U.S. STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS PROGRAM NOTED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 3, 28 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Lech Kantoch]

[Text] At the end of January 1982, the administration of Ronald Reagan began to implement a gigantic armaments program. Pentagon actions until this time proclaiming the need for "the rearming of America" may properly be called propagandistic preparation. Over 6 years, the Pentagon is to expand 1.6 trillion for armaments. To what may we compare this unimaginable figure, for--it must be stated openly--its size is simply shocking, even if one takes inflation into account.

Such a gigantic armaments program is not new but continues the policy of many years. According to data from the Brookings Institution in Washington, from 1946 to 1975, the United States used force against other nations or threatened armed intervention 215 times. It must be emphasized that this includes the use of nuclear weapons over 30 times. Thus, the administration of Reagan, in reality positioning armaments as practically the sole instrument of foreign policy, does not introduce anything new into the thinking in the American military-industrial complex.

The policy of Washington caused the world to expend approximately \$500 billion in 1980, or fourfold the 1960 sum. It is difficult to say how much will be expended this year. In any event, it was announced in the United States that during the 1982 fiscal year (which began 1 October 1981), the figure will be \$182 billion. It is not known whether even this figure will be increased, since there are other data to this effect.

The most substantial part of the U.S. military budget is designated for new military equipment. Hence, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at the figures published in the American weekly BUSINESS WEEK. At present the Pentagon spends \$41 billion of the \$182 billion on "the exchange of equipment." In 1983, \$55 billion of the total budget of \$215 billion will be designated for this purpose and in 5 years, when the U.S. military budget reaches \$350 billion, as much as \$125 billion will be directed toward the armaments industry.

It is not possible here to enter into the technical details concerning the disbursement of these funds. On the other hand, I would like to make note of certain essential elements. The major directions of armaments are not changing.

This particularly concerns the strategic "triad," known for years, which is composed of the intercontinental missile system on land, atomic submarines equipped with nuclear missiles and long-range bombers used to transport nuclear weapons.

The first member of the triad is to be strengthened; new strategic missiles are to be added to the strategic missiles already installed and fired from underground silos. This is the notorious MX system. However, instead of talking about how much it costs, let us turn our attention to a somewhat different matter--the underground work. These missiles are to be hidden in underground silos connected by a system of tunnels within the area of two states, Utah and Nevada. In order to build them, a land mass equal to that moved to build the Panama Canal must be displaced.

The second member of the triad is to include the "Trident" atomic-powered submarines equipped with missiles by the same name. This program has been implemented for many years, and in 1979 the first submarine was launched. It is to justify, within the first 2 years of its voyages, of the \$1 billion expended in its construction. How much its successors will cost and what its armaments are exactly is hard to say, since this is a military secret. Nonetheless, certain data are known.

The "Trident" is 150 meters long and has a displacement of over 18,000 tons. Twenty-four missiles with multiple warheads, the range exceeding 10,000 kilometers, are to be installed in its rocket launchers. In spite of the fact that the data concerning its explosive force vary, the "Trident" submarines are to be a basic element of the U.S. ocean strategy in the 1990's. It is generally believed that the volley from all of its rocket launchers will be fivefold more powerful than that of the "Poseidon" submarine from the previous generation. Thus, the generally accepted average is over 40 megatons; i.e., as much as 2,000 of the atomic bombs that obliterated the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from the surface of the earth.

The third member of the triad is to be expanded by the supermodern long-range B-1 bomber. According to BUSINESS WEEK, the Pentagon really began its "flood of armaments expenditures" with these. One of the first contracts signed in January was a contract with the Rockwell [sic] International Corporation, which is to construct 100 B-1 bombers for the sum of \$20 billion. These bombers will be equipped with the famous "Cruise" missiles, which the American press has already managed to call the "missiles of the V-1 [B-1] atomic era." They are practically undetectable by radar, since they are able to travel at an altitude of approximately 50 meters above the surface of the earth. They will convey nuclear missiles and also cargoes of chemical weapons, for which the United States has resumed production in recent weeks.

I have merely outlined this very broad problem of the question of American strategic armaments. Not wishing to overload this article with a large number of details, I have merely extracted several elements of the armaments program, which has no counterpart in the history of humanity. It is worthwhile to call attention to some of the social consequences, both for the United States itself and for the world.

Pentagon head Caspar Weinberger himself is beginning to express certain fears, although for him the economic and social consequences do not enter into consideration. He maintains that American industry is not sufficiently prepared for the new orders. Large investments are indispensable, and industrial bosses are encouraged to make these investments. In the community of experts on the American economy, the opinion is forming that the new armaments program will bring about inflation instead of stimulating the economy.

These are only some reservations. However, we cannot ignore the warnings of those who say that we must sit down at the table and negotiate the proposals long ago submitted by the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community. These demands are even being made by American politicians who have considerably more experience in world affairs than the present administration.

8536

CSO: 2600/397

CONCERNS REGARDING MADRID CONFERENCE VOICED

Warsaw SLOWO RÓWSZECHNE in Polish 19-21 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro]

[Text] The conference of the 35 signers of the Helsinki Final Act continues in Madrid. At first, this conference could not get started, and now it is not known when it will conclude. In November 1980, one had to stop watching time in the conference rooms, since approval of the conference agenda took 7 weeks. After 14 months of unconstructive arguments on the subject of human rights and the expansion of economic and cultural cooperation and security in Europe, the conference, which was to have ended in March 1981, was broken off in December, only to be resumed 9 February 1982 in an atmosphere that has little in common with the manners of refined diplomacy.

Already at the first plenary meeting, East and West chiefs presented declarations that were basically the official confirmation of what everyone was aware much earlier: that there are still major differences in the interpretation of the resolutions approved 7 years ago in Helsinki. The NATO foreign ministers took the lead on the question of martial law in Poland, treating this situation as a violation of the Helsinki obligations. The Polish delegation, as known, took the stand that any sort of discussion on Polish internal problems would be a violation not only of the Final Act but of the generally accepted principles of international relations. A statement on this issue made by the chairman of the Polish delegation, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Wiejacz, directly after his arrival at the Barrajas airport near Madrid, straightaway explained the view of both our government and the governments of the other socialist states on this subject.

However, despite this clear formulation of our attitude on the "Polish problem" at the very outset, the situation of the Polish delegation was not the easiest one and it took considerable skill on the part of Minister Wiejacz, chairman of the first plenary meeting, to wade through the procedural wilderness. Added to this was the fact that already during the first day of the conference, fundamental differences within the procedural sphere itself became apparent. Some delegates were favored postponing the conference for several months ("in order to compose our thoughts"), while others felt that the draft of the final document submitted in December 1981 by neutral, noninvolved countries contains sufficient positive elements to enable discussion to continue with definite opportunities for reaching an understanding.

The delegations from socialist states, however, unanimously maintained that the Madrid conference was called not to discuss the internal affairs of Poland but to lay the foundation of a future European disarmament conference and that an understanding should be reached on this subject without dragging on the discussion an infinitum.

The press commentaries were alarming. "End to Detente," "Collapse of the Helsinki Agreement," "In Madrid--Buried Hopes"--such headlines reflected the unequivocally pessimistic forecasts for the future of the debate. Today, however, 10 days after the conference began, the fury characterizing the first addresses has given way to somewhat quieter battles, although they are sharp and relentless. Unfortunately, this is characteristic of nearly all negotiations concerning the vital political, social and military problems of Europe.

None of the sides wishes to assume the responsibility for breaking off the conference--in any event, delegations from socialist states do not. Consequently, experienced negotiators, accustomed to battles, have proceed to set about the toilsome work of plowing the Madrid soil, were something is certainly germinating but nothing has yet sprouted.

Generally speaking, a number of issues have been resolved in Madrid. They concern economic cooperation, trade and cultural contacts and some energy questions. Definite, if not great, progress has been made in the controversial areas of bringing families together and the working conditions of foreign journalists--questions not easy to settle. Nonetheless, the meeting ended in a proverbial deadlock in December of last year, before the "Polish issue," now being forced by Western delegates with all their might, had surfaced.

The fairly enigmatic "confidence-building measures," which involve announcing maneuvers in which more than 25,000 soldiers participate and inviting observers to such maneuvers, represent a major problem due to differences in opinion. The West made a proposal that such "confidence measures " include the entire area of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains. The USSR agreed to a discussion on the proposed definition of the area, with the stipulation that the area be expanded westerly to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. With this--i.e., with the presentation of the two controversial positions--the matter ended. Attempts at mediation by neutral and noninvolved states, while numerous and varied, yielded no results.

An international conference, unlike a theater premiere or the advertisement of a bestseller, is not organized to gain ultimate applause for the diplomats who set it up and participate in it. Meanwhile, discussion, including heated verbal confrontation, is an accepted element of this type of meeting. However, the chance that the conference be successful depends upon the good will of the parties and on the proper treatment not only to one's own interests, but likewise to the arguments and positions of the opposing party.

The chances for the Madrid conference depend upon whether it will be a place for constructive discussion of the real problems of European security and cooperation between states, or whether it will be transformed into a forum for anti-Polish invective and for quarrels that lead nowhere.

To judge from its first days, unfortunately the latter seems more likely.

8536

CSO: 2600/397

BASIC INTERPRETATION OF CSCE ADDRESSED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 4, 7 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Lech Kantoch]

[Text] The present tension in international relations has not been equaled for many years. Sometimes it is also said, especially in the bourgeois press, that the world has reentered a period of cold war. Is this really the case, or do elements perhaps exist that distinguish the current situation from 30 years ago?

The tension itself and the sharpened confrontation between capitalism and socialism do not prove that cold war has returned. There are many differences, above all the fact that 30 years ago the confrontation was accompanied by a nearly total lack of contact between the East and the West. At that time, the possibility of the outbreak of World War III was expressly discussed--it hung by a thread, and the Korean War was to be its prelude.

Meanwhile, the present tension can be reduced and limited, or at least controlled, by the existing permanent forms of dialogue. While formerly this did not exist at all, today there are many such forms. On the other hand, the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] is of pioneering significance in East-West relations. This is a regularly operative structure of negotiations, embracing a broad range of issues and the broad cooperation and international contacts vital for Europe.

However, the Madrid conference cannot be compared with the 1975 Helsinki CSCE, if only because "Madrid-80" is only one stage in the process of the normalization of relations in Europe. The significance of the Madrid conference, whose predecessor was Belgrade 1977-1978, rests on the fact that it is taking place during a considerable worsening of international relations, a situation that has occurred virtually since the end of the 1970's.

What then is the role of the Madrid conference in the entire picture of East-West relations? What is the reason that socialist countries attribute such great importance to this form of Europe-wide dialogue? It is no accident that I ask this question, for it must be emphatically stressed that the Madrid conference cannot be viewed separately from the principles of the foreign policy of states of the socialist community. In particular, it cannot be considered in isolation from the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente in international relations.

Much has already been written in our political literature and journalism on the subject of the roles of the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries in realizing the ideas of security and cooperation on our continent. However, it is worthwhile to call to mind the most important facts, and above all the genesis of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The theoretical bases and the practical implementation of the concept of peaceful coexistence among states having different political-social systems were prepared and realized by Vladimir Lenin. One of the first decrees of the young Soviet authority was the Decree on Peace dated 8 November 1917. It not only contained a series of demands concerning the international situation, especially ending World War I, then being waged, but it was also a program of struggling for the institution of peaceful principles in international relations.

Among the later Soviet initiatives, we should note the 1954 proposal for a Europe-wide conference at a time when Europe was still under the cloud of the cold war. Poland submitted three proposals on European issues, namely in the questions of:

- creating a nuclearfree zone in Central Europe (1957);
- freezing armaments in this region (1960);
- calling a Europe-wide conference (1964).

This last initiative attained the support of the Political Consultative Committee of the members of the Warsaw Pact in January 1965. Countries of the socialist community activated their foreign policy, leading to the enlivening of the Europe-wide dialogue; many proposals were advanced at subsequent meetings. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev made a great contribution to the formulation of the socialist peace strategy.

The 24th KPZR [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] Congress, at which the Program for Peace was prepared and adopted, was a vital impulse moving issues of security and cooperation in Europe forward. On the initiative of Leonid Brezhnev, the Program for Peace was expanded at subsequent congresses of the Soviet Communist Party. Then, at the beginning of the 1970's thanks to the efforts of the entire socialist community, a Europe-wide dialogue was initiated.

Its culminating point was the signing of the CSCE Agreement in Helsinki. The Polish delegation proposed that this document be called the Magna Carta of Peace, and President Giscard d'Estaing suggested that it be known as a peaceful understanding. Representatives of the capitalist states, including the United States, did not undermine their legal-international importance and the necessity to implement its proposals.

However, since the beginning of the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, and thereby the normalization of relations in Europe, a hard-fought battle over the manner of interpreting the agreements has been waged. At every stage, the ideological and political contrasts between the socialist and capitalist states differing in their class structure, have become evident. For example, the approach of the United States to the CSCE has changed. While at first there was a good deal of skepticism with regard to it, now the administration of Ronald Reagan wants to use the Madrid conference for an all-out attack on People's Poland and the Soviet Union.

While we cannot develop the many elements that would answer the question of what the CSCE process is to be, it is worthwhile to point out the position adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the members of the Warsaw Pact on 15 May 1980. It expresses the conviction that the meeting is of great significance to Europe-wide dialogue, and that it can conclude "with the coordination of practical steps in the military and political aspects of European security, and in the development of cooperation in all fields." The spirit and goals of CSCE should provide a fundamental interpretational directive, and not merely the dry text of the documents themselves, in which its ideas have been formally expressed.

8536

CSO: 2600/397

MILITIA PREPARES REPORT ON YOUTH CRIMINALITY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Marek Dunin-Wasowicz: "Young People in a Danger Zone

"Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia prepares report on the state of the threat to young people of demoralization and juvenile delinquency"]

[Text] The Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia [MO] is preparing a report on the threat to young people of demoralization and juvenile delinquency. Alarming data, shocking figures, and drastic examples is how the "Report on the state of the threat to young people of demoralization and juvenile delinquency" can be characterized. The report was prepared on the basis of studies and statistical data furnished by the militia, Main Statistical Office [GUS], the Prosecutor General's office, institutions of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] and most interested ministries: Justice, and Education and Upbringing.

However, the value of this report does not lie in a list of new threats to young people. It calls attention to many hitherto unappreciated or overlooked phenomena or conditions (such, for example, as biological-genetic) which undoubtedly have a negative impact on juvenile delinquency among young people. This report rectifies certain falsified or so-called current opinions on this subject, it reminds us that the overall data furnished by various institutions is not exact, because it cannot be, and because the same examples are often furnished. And, finally, the report contains concrete suggestions and conclusions.

Most Threatened

Several years ago a report on the state of education in the PRL estimated that about 15 percent of the population, hence about 850,000 juveniles were threatened by demoralization and juvenile delinquency. Nearly half came from families of habitual alcoholics (in a clinical sense). Recent sociological studies presented in a report of the Institute for Problems of Criminality for the Council on Family Affairs raised that figure to an estimated 1 million children and juveniles.

In a broad sense, the threat encompasses social orphans. There are nearly 120,000 of them together with orphans in a strict sense, that is, children living in orphanages and other foster care-educational institutions. In principle, the latter can be excluded from the threat referred to. However, the country has about 1 million orphans, in a broad sense, who are being brought up by demoralized families, mainly by habitual alcoholics families that are being treated by clinics and are so-called problem alcoholics who disturb the peace while under the influence of alcohol. There are about 900,000 young people like that who are under 17. Most future criminals and alcoholics derive from them. In 1980, the militia arrested nearly 4,500 juveniles who were disturbing the peace or committing various petty thefts while under the influence of alcohol. The Ministry of Education indicates that recently the age level of pupils drinking alcohol has dropped. According to April 1980 statistics, the records show 13,000 pupils in elementary and above-elementary level schools using alcohol.

That is the record in schools. What about beyond the school? Unfortunately, a large group of young people does not in general study or work. Actually, these constitute 13 percent of the juveniles suspected of committing crimes.

The use of drugs and intoxicants is a problem, though it is somewhat blown out of proportion recently by mass media sources. In 1981, 791 juveniles were registered (as drug offenders) something that constitutes 9.4 percent of the drug users. Use of intoxicating substances constitutes a greater threat to elementary school pupils. Although this problem can be described as marginal, it must not be forgotten that actually the drug habit phenomenon is a cause of the increase in juvenile delinquency among young people. It is precisely young boys who commit the break-ins into pharmacies and the thefts of various medicaments and intoxicants for their older narcotic-habit colleagues and friends.

The juvenile prostitution phenomena could also be called marginal. The records show 425 girls under 18 occupied as prostitutes (3.3 percent of the total number of prostitutes known to the militia). However, close to 5,000 prostitutes have small children who are being brought up in demoralizing conditions, in an atmosphere of criminality, and alcoholism.

The report of the Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia devotes a great deal of attention and space to the problems of the deviation from mental health standards by the young people threatened. It is taking broad action on the problem of juvenile delinquency in and against the family as well as with respect to dysfunctional families that are not fulfilling their social obligations. The report presents an analysis, the scope and structure of juvenile delinquencies, as well as the conditions and factors that have a direct influence on criminality.

The concluding portion of the report points out the deficiencies and shortages that facilitate or give rise to juvenile delinquency among young people. The fact that barely 4,000 of the 155,000 buildings (among others, stores, warehouses, etc.) which because of the nature and kind of activity conducted in them, ought to be equipped with alarm systems, are so outfitted, is

significant. Not to say anything of how poorly protected are various offices, cellars, garrets and kiosks where juveniles most frequently commit robberies or break-ins.

Social Prevention

The report also discusses the activities of ministries, institutions and social organizations that are responsible for the broadly understood problems of counteracting the social estrangement of children and young people, and covers the main responsibilities and tasks falling on the Citizens' Militia. Along with this, it especially emphasizes the weaknesses and deficiencies which continue to appear. Among the chief ones is the lack of coordination of corrective actions.

A most important problem, primarily from a social standpoint, which is presented in the militia's report, has today become a particularly real one in consideration of projected draft of a statute on dealing with juveniles threatened with demoralization and criminality. This proposal was considered on 13 February 1982 at a meeting of the Presidium of the Government.

The legal resolution of this problem already demands a separate settlement. The hitherto applicable regulations (from 1928-1932) are scattered in various normative acts and actually are not appropriate to present needs and tasks, and do not adequately regulate preventive and resocializing action. However, although we do observe a drop in juvenile delinquency in Poland in recent years, the number of guardianship problems has increased and the threat of the demoralization of children and young people has grown greater.

Common Action Is Needed

A discussion of the complete draft of the statute require a separate forum. However, it is worthwhile to pause at least at some fragments of the justification for this proposal. For example, it introduces legal sanctions against those parents who slight their parental responsibilities. The right to make decisions with respect to a child's basic rights is entrusted exclusively to a juvenile court. The list and variety of preventive-educational measures used with respect to juveniles was substantially expanded.

Thus, first of all, the proposal corresponds with all modern pedagogical methods and retreats from the principles of repression. It anticipates directing juveniles for study at a family diagnostic-consultative center or other specialized institution.

The draft of the statute regulates all of the legal problems connected with this difficult and important problem. But the law of itself does not avert the threat to young people of demoralization and juvenile delinquency. What is needed here is common action, not only that of ministries, specialized institutions and social organizations. Citizens' Militia activity, which, first of all, is directed at discovering criminality or signalling the facts on the threat to children and young people of demoralization, alone will not help. All of us must act here. We must help where that is essential, and call attention to all indications of evil in order to protect our young people against it. Above all, we must not set a bad example for the young generation.

POLISH REFUGEES REPORT DISAPPEARANCE OF WEAPONS

Athens O OIKONOMIKOS TAKHYEROMOS in Greek No 10(1453), 11 Mar 82 p 32

[Article by A. Papandropoulos: "Armed Resistance Is Being Organized in Poland"]

[Text] Weapons disappear to be used against the junta; the existence of many dead is reaffirmed; Jacek Kuron recommends noting what is happening in Poland because the western democracies with their toleration are being self-destructed and led to totalitarianism.

"Many weapons disappear from Polish barracks. This makes us believe that around March or April an armed uprising against the junta will start in Poland." This was reported by a Polish refugee currently in Greece who gave us first-hand certain characteristic snapshots from the martyred country. Thus, our interlocutor who wishes to remain anonymous (to avoid being killed like a Hungarian friend of Greece who was soon forgotten) underlined that the plan for imposing a dictatorship in Poland had been drawn up and prepared since March 1981, but Jaruzelski waited until "conditions were ripe." In this context, the government had "trained" its own people assigned to create minor incidents, steal purses, break store windows, etc. In this way the communist government wanted to give the impression that the country was in the grip of anarchy and that it had to be "put in a cast" and thus restore "socialist" affairs to order. This was done.

Moreover, our interlocutor revealed that "the restoration of order in the birth-place of Chopin caused many fatalities; most of the dead disappeared so that nobody would find out that they were killed by the police of the Polish junta. With regard to this police force, the Polish escapee underlined that it has hired innumerable men from the parastate who carry out the "dirty work." By contrast, according to our informant, the military junta has no confidence in its army which on many occasions showed that it is closer to the working class than to the "nomenclature," with the result that orders are not being carried out.

Questioned as to whether the struggles of "solidarity" constitute a dangerous factor for the position of the Soviet empire and therefore for the balance established orally in Yalta, the Polish escapee believes that "now that the genie is out of the bottle, it is hard to put it back." "It does not matter," he said, "whether the Polish workers are more or less 'good boys.' Their heads will roll anyway."

At this point we note that the famous Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski is of the same opinion. In a recent conference he stated: "The West Europeans are wrong to believe that the peace in our area depends on the existing order. In reality the peace in Europe depends on the nonexplosive development of totalitarianism which cannot exist without expansion. Expansion is a domestic necessity. As long as the system remains as it is, it will remain hungry for new territory and new spheres of influence. It is very difficult for one to believe that the USSR will be satisfied each time it gobbles up a piece in Europe or Asia. On the contrary, this will increase its appetite and it will want more. Therefore, peace cannot survive unless totalitarianism is internally corroded. The West has no other way to prevent crises in central and eastern Europe. As long as the countries which were forcibly placed within the Soviet empire remain subjected, they will continue to be a source of instability. Therefore, the West has every interest in supporting all these phenomena of independence which weaken the Soviet totalitarian system."

Under these conditions, many argue that the struggle of Polish workers is the most effective barrier to the objectives and aims of Soviet imperialism and the people who serve it freely and loyally.

"You in the West," Jacek Kuron, then head of the Polish Movement for Social Self-Defense [KOR], said on 11 June 1979, "should follow closely what is happening in Poland. You play with your future. I do not say this because of simple determinism. I see great anger. The western democracies destroy themselves and are drawn by the threat of totalitarianism..." The same danger was pointed out by the escapees of the socialist paradise in Poland for whose "protection" the army and the police were mobilized. The people did not want it. As Brecht would say, they were "bad people."

7520
CSO: 4621/254

ARMED FORCES TO EXPAND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN 1982

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 10 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Col (academy graduate) Henryk Styburski, chief of the Food Service of the Quartermaster General of the Polish Armed Forces: "Tasks of Military Agriculture Under Martial Law"]

[Text] The task of using efficiently every patch of land that can be farmed, of all ponds and lakes is reflected in the policy of intensification of animal and crop production under conditions of martial law adopted for the current year by the armed forces of the PRL [Polish People's Republic].

In crop production and fodder management, a further 15 percent rise is envisaged in developing cropland on the periphery of training grounds, airfields, drill fields and other military reservations. At the same time, crop production is subordinated to animal husbandry. A crop mix with 66 percent grain, 12 percent papilionaceous large grain, 8 percent root plants, 6 percent fodder crops and 8 percent vegetables is considered exemplary. Due to this, cultivation of fodder crops will be especially emphasized. These crops insure higher yields of protein and carbohydrates if such high-protein crops as beans, fodder lupine, peas and papilionaceous small grains including alfalfa, clover, seradella and so on are used.

It has also been envisaged that adequate areas be assigned in the vicinity of pigpens for growing fodder crops (persian clover, field peas, vetch) or papilionaceous mixes for continuous direct grazing of animals throughout the summer. There was a recommendation to introduce cultivation of semisugar Polly Pasty and sugar beets for fodder on fertile soils with good soil practices.

In garden production, a 10 percent increase of area with early vegetables under plastic foil and vegetables in open soil is envisaged. This will make it possible to fully meet the needs for vegetables in mess halls, canteens and dependents of the cadre and employees of the armed forces.

A more efficient utilization of surface area in greenhouses and plastic hothouses is planned, which will be reflected by catching up with the average national yield of vegetables per square meter. The mix of vegetables grown in greenhouses and plastic hothouses will become more varied. It is accepted

that lettuce, radishes, parsley tops, chives, dill and garden beets will be grown in open soil and cultivation of cucumbers and tomatoes will be allowed. Reduction of flower cultivation to the necessary minimum has also been recommended.

Necessity to Boost Animal Husbandry

Due to the necessity to boost animal husbandry, it is projected that this sector will grow considerably, or by 30 percent over last year, mainly in slaughter hogs, feeder cattle, sheep, rabbits, poultry and fish. The efficiency of animal husbandry should be insured through, among other things, the increase of daily weight increments, increasing the number of fattened pigs and lambs, and the elimination of so-called empty stalls in pigpens. Much emphasis is laid on large-scale fish breeding, mainly of carp and trout in containers, now that the feasibility of breeding in larger reservoirs has been studied.

Experience so far has shown that in order to receive high yields it is not enough to just use modern means of production, such as high-quality seeds, necessary fertilizers in adequate amounts, pesticides and to undertake technically feasible cultivation measures. Specifically, this is to say that these cultivation measures must be undertaken at the right time. Keeping to the schedule in certain cultivation measures is one of the most important prerequisites for obtaining high yields. However, this factor is often not appreciated properly in either national or military agriculture.

Attainment of Full Fodder Self-Sufficiency

With a view to achieving full fodder self-sufficiency in a very difficult crisis period for the country's economy, farming of new tilled areas is envisaged. In many instances, it will be necessary to bring them back into cultivation and reclaim them for agricultural uses by resorting to so-called black fallow lands. In agricultural-engineering operations aimed at stopping land degradation and bringing agricultural practices up to an adequate level, eliminating sod or clearing thickets, deep ploughing, disk harrowing, cultivation and consequent weed control will be used. Green fertilizer will also be used, that is, such crops as lupine, mustard or sunflower will be planted and ploughed back into the soil in order to enrich it with organic substances and thus create good subsoil for winter crops.

Conservation work, cleaning gutters and culverts and fertilization must be prominent in spring work on grasslands after the snow melts. Carrying out these measures would require coordinated efforts of agriculture, technical services and airbase service units, especially in providing machinery. It will also require closer cooperation with the agricultural service.

Certain difficulties might occur in vegetable production under plastic-foil tents due to the shortage of polyethylene foil. This situation makes it imperative for supply units to renovate plastic foil tents and bring foil used in previous years back to useable condition.

Technical Condition of Agricultural Machinery

Because of the approaching spring, the technical condition of agricultural machinery is the focal point of attention. Inspections in military agricultural farms have shown that the condition of equipment can be considered satisfactory. In certain instances, there is a need to speed up repairing tractors and agricultural machinery and to obtain tires and storage batteries in order to achieve full readiness for the spring campaign.

As was mentioned above, further growth of slaughter hog production is contingent on securing a self-produced input of piglets and shoats, deliveries of industrial concentrated fodder, elimination of empty stalls and preparing a necessary number of stalls in summer pens and sheds. Due to this, it will be necessary to transfer a dozen thousand piglets and shoats, especially from the pigsties where sows have been selected from the fattened herd for breeding purposes over the fall and winter seasons. This will ensure the reduction of overcrowding in basic pigsties.

We should figure on difficulties in purchasing concentrated fodder, despite our requests submitted to agencies in charge of agricultural supplies and promises of counterdeliveries of consumption grain by military units to state elevators. Therefore, attempts aimed at full utilization for fodder of garbage from canteens and mess halls, both in garrisons and in the field are still in order.

Collection of Food and Bakery Garbage

Collection of food and bakery garbage in military settlements and organization of procurement of post-production waste matter in dairy plants, breweries, scutching plants, mills, bakeries and so on should also be intensified.

Rational utilization of all available green fodder becomes no less important in feeding animals. This means complete utilization of grass crops obtained in meadows. Besides summer pasturing of sheep and feeder cattle and hay-making, they should also be used for silage. Surpluses of hay should be provided to other military units.

The development of animal husbandry should be based on the utilization of existing farm structures and on construction of permanent and temporary shed-type farm buildings by the military itself. Readily available materials should be used, mainly lumber from the forests on training grounds (windfallen trees, dry wood, and so on).

Therefore, it is necessary to urgently undertake construction of shed-type pigsties with crossties and scrapped railway cars, especially on training grounds, peripheries of drill fields, etc.

It should be stressed that due to the effort of the quartermaster and engineering services of Warsaw Military District standard specifications for summer shed-type pigsties have been developed. These specifications have been made available to other military districts and commands of military services.

In summation, it should be repeated that the agricultural service of military districts and armed service and regional inspectors should not cease their vigorous effort to ensure adequate quantities of seed, fertilizer and input of butcher animals for supply units and to enforce timely execution of spring cultivation measures. It is only through the joint effort of commanding officers, unit quartermasters, employees of the food supply and agricultural service of the armed forces that the 1982 targets for a further increase in crop and animal production can be met.

9761

CSO: 2600/623

ENROLLMENT FOR STUDY ABROAD IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ANNOUNCED

TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 82 p 5

[Text] The Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology has in its possession over five hundred spaces for university study in socialist countries. According to the Polish Press Agency, candidates are already being accepted for study in socialist countries for the 1982/83 academic year.

The candidates are required to pass an entrance exam in one of the four Warsaw universities. Depending on the chosen direction of study, the candidates will take an exam at the Warsaw University, Warsaw Technical University, the Agricultural University of Warsaw and the Main School of Planning and Statistics. The conditions of the entrance exam parallel those governing the entrance exams to the colleges of the respective countries. Documents to the exchange universities should be filed by 15 May of the current year.

This year's offer for study in socialist countries is rich and diverse. In all the socialist countries put together, 544 persons will be able to study 58 different fields and specialties. The largest study opportunity is offered by the USSR: 230 spaces in technical study, 69 spaces in the humanities, 32 in agriculture, 17 in the arts and 10 in physical education. The USSR is offering the most spaces in technical education including fields such as computers, urban and industrial architecture, precision mechanics, automated management systems, the utilization of railway vehicles for subway and rapid transit.

The USSR offers many attractive directions of study in other universities as well, such as, oriental languages, the economics of water transportation, special education, agronomy, ballet directing, directing of music theatres, industrial planning.

There are 186 available spaces in the remaining socialist countries in all different fields of study. Most of those spaces--84--are offered by the GDR. In the GDR there is an opportunity to study, among others, such fields as: electronics, Germanics, the economics of labour and management. In Czechoslovakia one can take up studies among others, in: technology of plastics and hides; in Hungary--Hungarian philology, service economics,

gastronomy and hotel management; in Bulgaira, the field of tourist trade, gardening, food science; in Rumania, the field of drilling installations.

The Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology informs us that detailed information concerning regulations and procedures for enrollment for study abroad as well as the direction of study are furnished by colleges conducting enrollment as well as the Office of Foreign Stipendiary Exchange.

9620

CSO: 2600/445

Following formal submitting of detailed considerations, the work groups will immediately start activities. Within a short period, they will present the final text of their suggestions to the subcommittee for consideration. The last stage before submitting of this project for approval by the plenum of the Sejm will be its final examination at the joint meeting of the Sejm commissions on Science and Technological Progress and of Legislative Work.

In the academic community, opinions were expressed that all laws concerning the sphere of science should be discussed jointly, in order to assure their meritorious closeness. The commission over which I preside has already discussed this subject twice. On 2 March, after getting acquainted with the foundations of other law projects--such as that of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) on scientific degrees and titles and on scientific-research institutions--the commission did not find any legal collisions between the PAN principles of law projects and the previously worked out principles of the new law on the Higher Schools. Therefore, the commission is against any new delay in further legislative work, which would happen if we were to wait for the draft of next laws.

9841

CSO: 2600/418

COVERAGE OF WORK ON HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW UPDATED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Irena Solinska: "Without Waiting for the Remainder of the Bundle"]

[Text] Work on the law on higher schools has reached the final stage. After the first reading of the draft at the end of November of last year, it has been entrusted to the subcommittee appointed at the joint session of the Sejm commissions on Science and Technological Progress and Legislative Work.

At the same time the point of view of the Council of Ministers has been transmitted to the congressmen, together with other remarks and suggestions concerning further work progress on this law. We are interviewing Congressman Jan Janowski, chairman of the Sejm Commission on Science and Technological Progress.

Before 13 December, the working groups which are examining the separate sections of the law consulted representatives of the following interested parties: The Codification Commission, The Main Council on Science, Higher Schools and Technology, The Episcopate, The Central Qualification Commission, as well as trade unions and youth organizations. On 14 January 1982, the working groups approved the changes and amendments to this law. The representative of the government pledged to specify certain formulations in the government position.

The appointment of Prof Benon Miskiewicz to the post of minister of science, higher schools and technology, caused some delay, because he had to familiarize himself with this material. At a 16 February joint meeting of the presiding officers of the Sejm commissions on Science and Technological Progress, and Legislative Work, and later, on 2 March, the minister presented proposals of specifications for consultation. These concern, among others, problems such as: common correlation and division of competence between collective and one-person organs; principles of financing higher schools' operations; authorization of students to protest actions; limitations of staff vacations to today's schedule; maintaining present obligatory teaching hours. The department and the congressmen wish to limit the extent of possible changes in order not to disturb the main principles of the social plan, that is, granting autonomy and self-government to the higher schools.

ILLEGAL STUDENT GROUPS UNCOVERED IN KATOWICE VOIVODSHIP

Katawice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 1 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Jad]

[Text] Facts come first: In several localities of our voivodship leaflets began to appear; on walls inscriptions were painted in oil, or chalked, of antigovernment, anti-Polish, and antiparty content, directed against public order and social peace. Behind many of them was the youth of senior high school grades from various social strata.

Recently, the prosecution organs, from whom we obtained this information, have placed the activities of three youth groups, to which youngsters 15 to 18 years belonged. They were operating in the area of Jastrzebie, Bytom and Zawiercie, comprising the high school youth from senior vocational schools and basic schools. These young people were distributing leaflets, leaving them under doormats, pasting them in elevators and spreading them about in public places. Hostile leaflets, as a rule, were prepared manually (ballpoint pen, thick painting brush). Slogans were likewise painted on the walls. Let us have a look at these groups of young people.

In Jastrzebie, for about a month, a group operated under the name of "The Youth Organization of Solidarity," directed by a 16-year-old, Irenaeus B., a student of basic mining school. To this group belonged, among others, 18-year-old Marek S., also a student of the basic mining school; 16-year-old Teresa K., and several juveniles below 15 years of age. At their homes and in their possession were found, among others, the typewritten copies of the "Latest History of Poland," pictures of various content, slandering the PZPR and our foreign alliances, and lots of illegal literature.

In Bytom, in the coffeehouse "Toska," 16-year-old Jan K., a student of the General Education High School in Bytom, was apprehended and there was found in his possession the ideological declaration of the illegal youth organization named the "Movement of Independent Youth" and instructions of how members of the group should behave in case of the intervention of the army or militia, and also distribution of leaflets, etc. It was ascertained that the Bytom group has numbered 12 persons, students of the Fifth General Education High School and of the Automotive Schools Group. Their meetings were taking place at the home of a teacher and of a Bytom physician. Some of these young people

already, before martial law, took part in the distribution of leaflets supplied to them from the MKZ Bytom [the Bytom Interfactory Founding Committee].

The pedigree of the Zawiercie Group dates before 13 December 1981. In the middle of last year there was formed a clandestine organization, SAGO (School Anticrisis Operational Group), composed of the second-third-and fourth-grade students of the General Education High School. SAGO operated in correlation with the MKK Zawiercie [Probably: Zawiercie Interfactory Coordination Committee], for their participants were used in the activities of the so-called "Pamphlet groups," busy in the distribution of hostile leaflets. Its members perpetrated a desecration of the Soviet Soldiers Monument in Zawiercie. Ideologically, SAGO identified itself with the antistate KPN [Confederation of an Independent Poland], and in November it was transformed into WNN-BEM (Freedom, Self-Government, Independence--Extremist Youth Brigade). After 13 December some members resumed their activities, and in connection with this the Prosecutor's Office has started criminal proceedings against them.

There are so many facts, facts that are sad and often frightening. Manifold conclusions must be drawn from them. Most important is not the fact that the enemy of the socialist Poland exists, but the fact that it can with its demagoguery reach a part of the society, as stated at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum. If, however, it is exploiting for its aims the enthusiasm and pure intentions of the young people--often still children, not infrequently quite lost in the whirlpool of recent months, not understanding whom they serve and whose tool they are--then he automatically is putting himself outside the limits of any tolerance. In the cases mentioned, the trail not infrequently leads to the adults who organized these youth groups. Among others there were workers of the former Regional Board of NSZZ Solidarity, teacher Teresa M., and Andrzej B. working in the Multibranch Labor Cooperative in Bytom. Among other things too the same teachers home where leaflets prepared on a duplicating machine were taken, served as a meeting place of the youth.

"In joining this group I did not realize how serious its consequences could be. I was moved by ambition, I wished to be active and not passive in presence of the events in our country," says a 16-year-old.

"Up to now I was never involved in such matters. I was therefore afraid and on the other hand I did not want my classmates to know that. When there was talk about help to the interned prisoners, I knew that there was nothing against law. When the matter of leaflets arose, I had some doubts but said nothing, wishing to save face," says another 16-year-old.

"In my opinion, Jan K. was receiving both leaflets and instructions as to the time, place and kind of action, from someone on the outside. That someone actually controlled our organization," observed the next teenager.

These young people are at a threshold of their life. Their attitude and their world view were formed by their parents and the school in peacetime. They were born and brought up at the time when war and its cruelties can be seen only on television or at the movies. There was too much talk, perhaps, about

war adventures, which disappear from the screen with the turn of a knob, and too little about terrible ravages to people. Nor should they be blamed that they wanted to experience a youthful adventure, some game of conspiracy, or maybe some stealthy Indian approach. Naively, stupidly, they permitted themselves to get involved in antistate work, perfidiously controlled by adult persons, who fully aware of their aims did not hesitate to exploit their young credulity. This matter is rather sensitive insofar as one tried here to touch one of the most susceptible chords of the Polish soul. It is well known that repeatedly the youth and not infrequently children had played a not inconsiderable role in Polish struggles for independence and their heroism became one of the most cherished traditions. In the present situation, exploiting the committal and eagerness of the young against the chance of stabilization and strengthening of the country, which are precisely to ensure a better future for them, is simply madness.

In this situation many questions arose, directed both at the parents and educators. For example, at least one of the participants of the group for 3 months did not attend his school by forging medical certificates, and another absented himself quietly during the schoolyear to go skiing. No one paid the least attention to it. In the Zawiercie high school, as documented, there prevailed nothing less than an excessive liberalism toward actions of some students. In Bytom, a school mistress established a contact point in her apartment. Where are the ethics of the educator, not to speak of the infringement of legal standards?

It is obvious that the enemies of stabilization in our country will be using any weapon. The Poles are being exhorted to conspiratorial action and so, actually, to a fratricidal struggle. Pushing the youngest ones in this direction, exploiting their naivete and lack of experience, is highly amoral toward them and toward the entire nation. As stated by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, the course of history cannot be reversed. Spring will not be either "ours" or "yours"--it will be simply Polish and socialist. The awareness of this only now is reaching some people and it would be good if it reaches them as quickly as possible, as it has reached many young people in Jastheble, Bytom and Zawiercie. It is only a pity that it did not occur earlier and at the insistence of educators and parents--a great pity.

1015

CSO: 2600/393

ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING OF YOUTH

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romanian Feb 82 pp 1, 2, 9

[Article by Petre Constantin, deputy minister of education and training: "The Continuing Improvement of Educational Work in Schools and the Growth of Its Role in the Communist and Revolutionary Development of Young People"]

[Text] In the view of the Romanian Communist Party, the building of the new, socialist order requires not only a broad increase of production forces and the improvement of social relations, but also the development of an advanced person armed with sound scientific and cultural knowledge and well-prepared from a technical and professional point of view, with a high ethical deportment, a person who is an active participant in all economic, social and political activities in the country.

In this complex process of developing and educating the new man, an important role is played by education - the principal factor of culture and civilization. The Romanian Communist Party's Program for creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism establishes as the fundamental objective of education the multilateral training of the cadres needed in all fields of activity, in close connection with the requirements for the production of material and spiritual goods. At the same time, it outlines the need to develop and educate the new man, the continuing improvement of professional, scientific and technical training for workers, the provision of the conditions for the development and expression of the creative abilities of the members of society and the raising of the general level of the people's culture and knowledge. The schools have the mission to ensure the younger generation's mastery of scientific, technical and cultural knowledge and the skills necessary to carry out certain professions that are useful to society, and their development in the spirit of the materialist-dialectic concepts about nature and society, socialist humanism, the ideology and policies of the Romanian Communist Party, and the principles of socialist ethics. The workers in the schools have the duty to cultivate among the rank and file young people love for country, the party and the people and for the ideals of peace and social progress, thus contributing to the communist and revolutionary education of young people for work and life and to the cultivation among their ranks of a passion for new things, science and the truth, of their duty to dedicate all their abilities to work and understand to the building of the socialist and communist society and of their responsibility for the country's future and its continuing prosperity.

Substantiated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian concept regarding the place, role and functions of education represents a model for the creative, profoundly scientific and dialectic solution of the problems of developing man in close agreement with the complex interdependencies that are expressed between education and society in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism and of carrying out the contemporary technical-scientific revolution. This concept, represented in the Law on Education and Training, as approved in 1978, stands at the basis of all activities to organize and carry out education in all grades, while its achievement is the basic task of the educational process itself, as well as of the educational activities organized outside the school program, all the teaching personnel and the children's and youth organization. For the purpose of achieving these tasks, there has recently been a qualitative restructuring in the organization and content of education, involving its ever more organic integration with scientific research and with production and social-political practices, the incorporation of the most valuable achievements of contemporary science and technology in the educational process, the strengthening of the educational-developmental function of this process and the improvement of political-ideological, technical-scientific and cultural-artistic activities organized with pre-school children, young students and students that have ensured the modernization of Romanian education, its placement on a new, revolutionary basis and the improvement of its capacity to fulfill its purpose in society.

Having a clear concept about the role and tasks of education and encouraged by the care and trust given to them by the leadership of our party and state, the teaching personnel and the children's and youth organizations have carried out a broad activity for the multilateral training and education of the young people at the school desks.

The results obtained, however, are not meeting the current requirements and the conditions that have been created. The carrying out of the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress and the directives issued by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, requires, for that reason, the growth of the role of all educational organs and units and children's and youth organizations for the purpose of radically improving the activities for the communist and revolutionary development and education of the young generation for work and life.

In accordance with the recent measures approved by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee for the improvement of political-educational and organizational activities among the ranks of the young people, the young students' and students' mastery of our party's and state's ideology and domestic and foreign policies, and the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu will be placed in the center of all activities.

Under the guidance of the party organs and organizations, the educational units and the children's, youth and students' organizations will have as their fundamental concern the provision of a thorough vocational training for the younger generation on the basis of the newest advances in science and technology and human knowledge, in full agreement with the requirements for the economic and social development of socialist Romania. Special attention will be given to strengthening the educational process through work for work for children, young people and students, developing the work cult among their ranks and developing economical thinking and care for national wealth, the rational and responsible administration of all the country's resources and the desire and decision to be thoroughly prepared to participate as actively and efficiently as possible in the construction of socialism and communism in our country.

We will work to cultivate among the ranks of the children, youngsters and students high revolutionary traits, love and devotion to the country and the party and respect and values for the glorious traditions of the Romanian people, the working class and the Romanian Communist Party and for the achievements obtained during the years of building socialism, pointing out on a priority basis the shining successes during the period when the party and state was headed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Special stress will be placed on the understanding, mastery and application of the principles of socialist ethics and equity and the country's laws, on the strengthening of order and discipline in all educational units and on the absolute adherence to the norms for behavior in the school, the family and society. At the basis of all educational activities will be the development of the revolutionary concept about the world - dialectical and historical materialism and of certain firm scientific convictions that will help in correctly understanding and interpreting phenomena and processes in nature and society and in combating retrograde, mystical concepts.

The measures adopted by the party leadership for the purpose of improving political-educational and organizational activities among the ranks of young people in the educational units create the appropriate framework for the achievement of a unified process of developing and educating the younger generation and ensure an increase in the responsibilities of all teaching personnel and children's and youth organizations for all activities in each educational unit. At the same time, through the measures established for the purpose of improving the organizational structures of the children's and youth organizations, conditions are ensured for a closer cooperation in the future between the educational units and the children's and youth organizations, for the accentuation of the continuity of educational work and for the improvement of the guidance for the political-educational activities of these organizations through a better involvement of party members, pioneers and Union of Communist Youth members. Thus, in order to improve the organizational structure of the Falcons of the Country the position of group commander is being created at the group level which will be filled by a falcon of the country for 1 year. At the level of each Falcon of the Country group, the pioneer organizations will designate, annually, a commander-instructor from the ranks of the best pioneers in grades V-VII, who will be helped by three to five pioneers in the organization and carrying out of falcon activities.

Similarly, the position of guide of the Falcon of the Country organization is being created at the level of each group in kindergarten, that is, grade I in the schools, which will be filled by the teachers in the group and the instructors in the classes. The activities of the Falcons of the Country organizations will be coordinated at the level of each school by a commission, whose president, a member of the teaching staff and the leadership council of the school, will guide all the political-educational activities of the organization.

Another new element is that the Pioneer Organization will include in its activities, alongside the pioneers, other children between the ages of 7 and 14 who still are not pioneers. These children will wear the pioneer uniform without the tie and insignia outlined in the Statute of the Pioneer Organization, with these children also receiving the insignia when they become pioneers. Similarly, the Union of Communist Youth organizations will include in their activities all young people between the ages of 14 and 20, even if they are not members of the organization, as associate members of the Union of Communist Youth.

In all educational units, the position of deputy director for educational work is being created, which will be filled by the commander-instructor of the pioneers and the guide of the Union of Communist Youth organization in the school. In high schools and vocational schools, the guides will also fill the positions of instructors of the Union of Communist Youth organizations in the classes that they lead.

The implementation of the measures approved by the party leadership makes necessary an even more powerful commitment by the schools and all teaching personnel, regardless of their specialty or the educational cycle in which they are working, to the education of the younger generation. Pointing out that "there is no more noble mission or social duty of higher responsibility than that of developing and moulding the new man of our society," stressed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and, at the same time, that "the fulfillment of this mission requires of all the workers in the schools a passion and enthusiasm, a spirit of revolutionary sacrifice and a high political and patriotic awareness."

Just as the secretary general of the party has asked us, we must do everything so that "school will be truly expressed as a powerful center for raising the younger generation in the communist, patriotic and revolutionary spirit."

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DJILAS INTERVIEWED ON EUROCOMMUNISM

PM061521 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Mar 82 p 13

[Interview with Milovan Djilas, dissident Yugoslav historian, by Alberto Jacoviello in Belgrade on 23 March: "Stalin Was Better: Now Communism Has No Ideology"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 Mar--[Question] Mr Djilas, the PCF is in government and tied to Moscow, but has lost elections. The PCE is not in government and is not tied to Moscow; it is split and paralyzed. The PCI has broken with Moscow and has no immediate prospects of governing; it is experiencing serious difficulties. Are these signs of a shared future for the three Eurocommunist parties?

[Answer] Yes, there is something in common, but first and foremost there are some major differences. For one thing, the PCE, unlike the PCI, is not supported by broad masses of people, nor is it, unlike the PCI, an integral part of society. Furthermore the PCE's history includes a lost revolution, in which Moscow played a prominent part. The PCI, despite all its changes of direction since World War II, has always maintained a democratic line. As for the PCF, it has remained basically a Stalinist party. Admittedly, it belongs to the government coalition, but only as a foreign body. The PCI does not belong to the government but in essence it is more involved in government than the PCF is. Be that as it may, one initial factor is that since 1948 and more particularly since Stalin's death and the 20th CPSU Congress, this and other communist parties have been moving inevitably toward a recovery of national spirit.

Western Communist Parties Paying for Crisis of Leninism

[Question] The fact remains, however, that all three of these parties are experiencing a crisis, albeit to differing extents and for differing reasons.

[Answer] But the crises are different too. Indeed, I would say that, as far as the PCI is concerned, it has not been substantially weakened. The PCF, however, is paying the price of adherence to an obsolete ideology that is now incompatible with real conditions. It seems to me that the PCE has entered a phase of disintegration, as a result of a difficult coexistence between Eurocommunist and Leninist currents. But if we are to seek a shared thread

in all three parties, what we are witnessing, albeit in different forms, is a crisis in Leninist ideas.

[Question] In other words an ideological crisis. But if this is so, it must be said that it affects all communist parties, starting with the CPSU, which is the party of the country where Leninism was implemented in practice. Indeed, I would say that the crisis is actually stemming from the USSR and reverberating in all communist parties. Is this not so?

[Answer] I have been arguing this theory for a long time. The root of the crisis is undoubtedly in the USSR. It stems from the "national communism" implemented there, which had a paradoxical effect--namely to facilitate the emergence of national thrusts in other countries, starting with Yugoslavia. The conflict exploded between the hegemonic tendencies of "national communism" implemented in a major country and the various different national situations. In this sense one can say that the first symptoms of the crisis date back to Lenin....

[Question] So it is very deep rooted and involves the very heart of communists' ideology. It is now more visible than ever. But in that case another question arises. Can communist parties live and develop in the presence of a crisis that deprives them of their ideology?

[Answer] No party can live without ideology, especially the communist parties.

[Question] And yet it is happening. In Italy, for instance, the debate on ideology is almost over. The major communist intellectuals discuss politics--often brilliantly. They rarely discuss Marxism. In France, since Althusser, it has been the same. There is a kind of refusal, or rejection, of ideology. What do these communist parties risk becoming, without ideology?

[Answer] It depends what kind of ideology we are talking about. I believe that the PCI has never been an ideologically "pure" communist party. It admits Catholics to its ranks, for instance, which is forbidden in the Eastern bloc countries. But the problem concerns the plurality of contributions that can come from a party whose members are kept together by adherence to a political program. Where does one start from? There can be no return now to an integral form of Marxism. Many things have happened since then. But neither can one reject Marx, who remains one of the great minds of the 19th century, just as, for instance, one cannot reject Aristotle or Machiavelli or the utopian philosophers. An entirely new task must be carried out, and this can only be done with an openness to all contributions. In other words, there must be pluralism in the ideological field too. The alternative would be a process of disintegration. This applies to the Eastern bloc parties too, though their transformation will be slower and more difficult.

[Question] Mr Dillas, at one time communists could tell the bourgeoisie contemptuously: You are nothing but pragmatists, whereas we adhere to scientific truths. Is the situation not reversed now?

[Answer] I have the impression that you have touched on the principal problem. It was believed that a new kind of society could be created simply on the basis of a scientific outlook. All--or nearly all--the difficulties stemmed from this attitude, whose origin lies with Marx himself. Science today confirms that there are no truths, no definitive laws. That does not mean that Marx was mistaken. Indeed, he lived at a time when people believed in the eternity of scientific laws. It is enough to consider the modern world and the number of elements acting at the same time to realize that so many things from the past are no longer true, or no longer entirely true.

New Problems That Marxism Cannot Resolve

[Question] Yes, but until recently there was a "blueprint" which basically consisted of overthrowing existing kinds of society to create better ones. That is what happened in Russia. What is the "blueprint" now, following the historical defeat of real socialism, which fathered the communist parties?

[Answer] I do not know what "blueprint" they have now. I believe, however, that communist parties must now get used to regarding the whole as a process of development in which there will be more freedom, more security and more different opinions--a process which not only will never end but will always continue to develop. The Russian revolutionaries' mistake was to believe that it was possible to create a perfect society. In fact no sooner was the new society born than new problems emerged, which they were unable to resolve.

[Question] This prompts me to ask a question which particularly concerns me. Berlinguer has said that the October Revolution has exhausted its propulsive phase. But is this true only now or was it true before? If the latter, is it possible to establish when this should have become apparent?

[Answer] Berlinguer is right. But it is also true that the propulsive thrust was exhausted long before Poland. Perhaps the PCI secretary general failed to see it, perhaps he was unable to see, perhaps he could not say so for tactical reasons inherent in the PCI's internal situation. If we have to establish a time, I would say that the turning point was the major purges of the late thirties. That was the turning point, not the start. The start was even further back. In fact it is inherent to the entire exercise of Soviet power. Indeed, in Russia the problem of power, of the danger inherent in power, has always been underestimated. It was believed that a certain phase would be difficult, but temporary. In fact it has endured. But the turning point was the major purges.

"USSR Harming Socialism"

[Question] Why? What about World War II, when Stalin's Russia provided an extraordinary stimulus, creating a desire for socialism in tens of millions of people?

[Answer] In fact the end of World War II accentuated the process of the exhaustion of the propulsive phase. The moment Russia became a major power

with worldwide interests, the communist parties increasingly became the tools of power politics in Moscow's eyes. In people's minds this was experienced entirely differently. But did not the same thing happen with the French revolution? Napoleon was already creating the empire, while in the minds of European liberals he still represented the ideals of revolution....

[Question] Mr Djilas, you once wrote that Stalin changed when Russia became an empire. He was Russian, and Russian, czarist-type bureaucracy was the basis of his power, including his power in the countries where communist regimes were established after World War II. Almost 30 years have elapsed since his death. Has the situation improved? Do Stalin's successors understand the problems of the East European countries better?

[Answer] No. Indeed, in a sense the situation has deteriorated. To some extent Stalin emerged from an internationalist mold. His successors do not. They see things solely in terms of Russian policy, Russian power. For example, whereas in Stalin's time Russia was an ideological-military power, it is now a military-ideological power. The difference is a profound one, and for the worse.

[Question] Mr Djilas, in Italy one communist theorist, Franco Rodano, maintains that the USSR still remains the principal mainstay of the anti-imperialist struggle and that it is therefore a mistake to become detached from Moscow.

[Answer] I do not think that this theory is correct. The reality of imperialism has changed, and this is not only due to the Soviet Union's role. Everything that is happening in the world--from El Salvador's struggle to the European resistance--will force the Americans to abandon some aspects of their policy, as has happened in Europe. It is understandable for many movements to depend on Moscow for arms supplies and for political and diplomatic support. But in general U.S. imperialism is on the retreat not because it is opposed by the USSR but because it cannot handle its affairs with the rest of the world as it would like. One of the characteristics of our age is that the USSR is on the offensive not as an ideological movement but as an imperial power.

[Question] This means, drawing all the conclusions from that assertion, that the danger to socialism is increased by the strengthening of the USSR's power politics--not the contrary.

[Answer] Correct. That is how I see it.

[Question] So should the communist parties, which have always fought to strengthen the USSR, now fight to weaken it?

[Answer] I would say that the communist parties should no longer remain silent--ever--about the negative aspects of the Soviet situation. This does not mean that they should abandon all relations with the USSR. They should, however, analyze its policy clearly and act accordingly.

[Question] Does the danger of imperial disintegration not go hand in hand with the danger of war? In other words, faced with the dispersion of its World War II gains, would the military-ideological power that is the Soviet Union not react with the use of force? In which case, how can communists be asked to act--directly or indirectly--for the creation of elements of freedom and autonomy in East Europe?

[Answer] I do not believe that the two processes--the disintegration of the empire and the threat of war--go hand in hand. From this viewpoint, the ballyhoo about Poland stems not from a fear of what the Russians are doing but from the U.S. attempt to impose discipline on Western Europe.

"Rejecting Democratic Centralism"

[Question] Let us return to our starting point--the crisis of the communist parties. You said that many things would have to change for them to extricate themselves from it. Is democratic centralism one of them?

[Answer] All parties--not only communist parties--have forms of centralism. The very concept of democratic centralism is flexible. The important thing is for it to be rejected in the forms laid down by Leninism and implemented in Eastern Europe.

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SERBIAN CHURCH PROTESTS ATTACKS IN KOSOVO

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 82 p 2

[Text] The fate of the Rasko-Prizren eparchy affects the entire Serbian church and the religious believers in Yugoslavia, because there is not and cannot be any indifference in the spiritual body of Christ; by the law of brotherly love on which the Church rests, there cannot and should not be any indifference.

The Serbian Orthodox Church, its synod of archpriests, and also the united clergy in its meetings, have pointed out previously the great difficulties in the life of this ancient eparchy of Saint Sava, the area of which coincides for the most part with the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. This has been pointed out to responsible individuals and bodies, and not only in Kosovo. We all know that the Serbian Church in this area has been exposed for a long time, and especially in the last year, to a public or covert counterrevolutionary campaign of terror by Greater Albanian irredentists and chauvinistic hysteria--unfortunately, without a corresponding effective protection of its inviolable constitutional and legal rights. Attacks on the Church, along with the involuntary emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, have, in fact, been the first serious warning signs of methodical irredentist activity in the province.

The state of our church in Kosovo is causing concern among the Serbian clergy and Orthodox people, and, we believe, among all decent citizens of socialist Yugoslavia as well. We really cannot and should not disbelieve in the solidarity of the working people and citizens of our country when it is a question of defending [ourselves] against a deliberate and insolent attack on the most sacred foundations of [our] brotherhood and unity, because this solidarity has already been demonstrated so many times even when such vital matters were not involved. The sufferings of the Serbian bishop in Prizren, the Serbian clergy and monks, harmless nuns in monasteries, quite innocent people and women, the destruction and desecration of Serbian shrines, monuments of the culture and freedom of a people, which do not date from yesterday in this area but are rather more than 1,200 years old--all of this, all these fires and destruction, all these clubs and blasphemies, all the broken bones, all the threats, all the wounds, all the bullets fired in the name of a blind hatred, must arouse the working people and citizens of socialist Yugoslavia. This is not just an attack on the Church, on a religious community, its

institutions and "officials." After all, is forty years a long time to have passed since the dark and terrible past when Serbian archpriests, priests, and monks suffered at the hands of another raging chauvinism? We know where this leads.

The Serbian Church is criticized for keeping silent and preaching patience. The Church is not keeping silent; it is doing what it can do, being aware of the sensitivity of the situation. It does not want an "escalation of Serbian nationalism" and is behaving constructively to the highest possible degree: it is speaking where there is probably some sense in speaking, appealing to people's consciences and to social, national, and state interests. It is true that the church is preaching patience, and it will continue to preach it, because this is the command of Christ. It is thus teaching and strengthening its people so that they can bear up under all of the trials, in the hope that "God will not allow us to be tried beyond our strength, but will put an end to the trials so that we may be able to endure them" (1 Corinthians 10:13). The Church does not call for revenge, but rather speaks of forgiveness; it does not demand the use of force, but rather appeals to the conscience. The truth, however, cannot be suppressed. We priests at least must recall Christ's words: "If these were silent, the very stones would cry out" (Luke 19:40). We are thus speaking now as we have done in the past, to warn people away from the evil described above, so that we may not be ashamed over the graves of fathers nor before the children who will be born and raised far from their homes.

The Serbian Orthodox clergy is willing, as always, to do everything necessary to bring this wave of terror to a stop more readily and more rapidly. We expect all progressive people, soldiers, political authorities, and the respected Albanian families that have not forgotten the "vow" made before the holy Decani king and the Pec Patriarch, to assist us in this, and to take the Serbian Orthodox Church seriously under their protection. The attack on Serbian church institutions, sacred objects, church property, the hierarchy and [orthodox] people, is only one aspect of an assault against the integrity of socialist Yugoslavia. In his unscrupulous psychological "special" war against our country, the enemy wants to eliminate the Serbian church as a major historic and moral force for our patriotism, a force that proved itself at the times of the national liberation war and the revolution, as well as in the previous struggles by the people against the invaders and foreign authorities. The attack on the Serbian Church is also an attack on an important element in our freedom and our constitutional order; protecting it in this case also means protecting and defending Yugoslavia. (VESNIK, publication of the Alliance of the United Orthodox Clergy of Yugoslavia, January 1982)

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CHURCH ACTIVITY IN HAMLET NEAR RIJEKA DESCRIBED

Belgrade ZUM REPORTER in Serbo-Croatian No 811, 2 Feb 82 pp 19-24

[Article by Duska Vrhovac Pantovic and Ljiljana Bulatovic]

[Text] Klana is a suburb of Rijeka with 1900 inhabitants. It has its own school, two labor organizations, 210 pupils 287 youth, and an army garrison. On the facade of the gymnasium of the school, which is named after Anton Raspor-Spanski, there are graffiti saying "Long Live God +." One the older children struck a certain boy named Alan for not attending catechism.

Recently a very important topic, which has been written and spoken about, is the attitude of the young toward religion. Closely connected with that, and also a frequent topic of discussion in a rather inconcrete manner, is the attitude of the church toward young people.

If strength is in numbers, we can safely say that there are more and more villages and cities in which the number of young people who are turning toward the church (or whom the church is attracting toward it) is increasing. The Catholic church in particular is (successfully) concerned with growth in the number of believers.

Unfortunately, that only means that the Socialist Youth League and other socio-political organizations have left too much operating room for the church, including naturally functions that are outside the church. The church fathers, who are traditionally farsighted, do not for a moment forget that the world belongs to the young, and that their concern for youth is actually concern for their own future. A concern for the future should be nurtured from the youngest days of those who represent the future. It would seem that some secular elements have forgotten that fact.

Being in Klana, one of the largest suburban local communities in the Rijeka area, we did not want to analyze any of the problems cited in the preceding lines, but rather, to give a slice of the life of a small town, neither a city or a village, where there are some well-done things and many factors seem to be in their proper place. Nevertheless, if you look a little more closely and listen a little more, there are views and sounds that cannot please the

the eye and the ear. We will try to convey our impressions, letting the people of Klana whom we met speak about themselves and their town. And so here we are in Klana.

In the local community building we found Olga Rudin, secretary of the local community, and Pavao Sarcevic, director of the local office. We asked them to tell us about Klana, as guests who had come for the first time. Not entirely happily, but with great effort, after our remark that we were primarily interested in the young people and that we wanted to have a "identity card" of Klana on the basis of the young, the conversation began.

In the Local Community

Olga Rudin: Klana is Rijeka's largest suburb in area but not in population. With 1900 inhabitants, Klana has its own school, two labor organizations, the Wood Industry Enterprise with about 300 workers, and "Sumarija" which exploits forest products, with about 50 workers. We have department and grocery stores. We have a district school with four grades at Studena, and our school at Klana has all eight grades. Both schools together have about 210 pupils. Since they join together in the fifth grade, we count both schools. In the 15-27 year age group, the youth, there are about 300, I think the number is 287. These include high school students, students and young workers. Quite a few of our students enter production occupations, particularly metal specialties and wood working. There are also many merchants. This is certainly related to employment possibilities, because those schools immediately make agreements with labor organizations and then, a job is certain.

Pavao Sarcevic: Essentially all of them are employed in the Rijeka area. The mentality of the people here in Klana is to stay in their own area, and they have a hard time deciding to go outside of it. There are not many newcomers. We also have an army garrison. Once the nearness of that garrison meant much more, because the officer cadre lived here in Klana. Thanks to them, social life was more active. Now, after their working day, they go home to Rijeka.

As you come into Klana, on the right side you see some new houses. A lot of building is under way. Most people just have a yard, but they can plant some things there. One can grow a little cabbage, potatoes and perhaps raise a pig, but everything else has to be bought. We are, however, full of automobiles and television sets. This is more a working class place. If anyone is involved in agriculture, it is just a few housewives and old people. There are many haulers whose income is good, and that has affected the rising living standard.

The only pre-school institution is at Studena; it was opened 2 years ago. Here in Klana we need such an institution, but some reason is always found for not opening one, so we still have done nothing about it. Other than financial resources, however, the reason for that is lack of involvement.

Olga Rudin: At least it has been said, and I believe it is true, that at the beginning of next year a Kindergarten will be opened in conjunction with the school. A gymnasium has been built, and the space below it would be adapted to serve as the Kindergarten. We believe that this wish will be fulfilled this year.

The party active unit (in the overall local community area) has 120 members; our basic organization has 13.

Regarding the youth organization, there is a local conference which numbers a little less than 300 members. Normally, about ten of them are actively involved. Right now there is a lull in their work, but now they have received a place, so that they can work in the framework of the local community organization.

There is a soccer club that this year is celebrating 50 years of existence, a basketball club, and "bocara" players....

The cultural life is not exactly colorful and rich, but there is some. It is led by and based on the singing group "Matko Laginja," which was formed in 1979.

Occasional concerts are organized in the spacious and nice movie theater, which has about 530 seats, so there is no space problem. The school itself so far has not arranged anything in cooperation with the choir. It only arranges pioneer initiations in its school building. It used to arrange some nice recitals, and all the townspeople could come, not just the parents, to see the children.

As far as dances and entertainment, the young people generally go to Rijeka and surrounding towns.

There is also a newspaper. With the changing of the priest, more active work began on maintaining the church buildings, which previously we had no occasion to maintain. Now he has started to take care of that.

Pavao Sarcevic: He is a young priest, very ambitious, who speaks well and since he came, people have gone to church much more. I have been living here about 50 years, and in that time I don't think my mother-in-law had been to church 5 times. But now, since Pero came, she goes to church every week.

Olga Rudin: I had a chance to listen to him at a funeral service. He speaks beautifully.

In the Youth Organization

We wanted to talk to someone from the youth organization. Our hosts thought it best that we have our conversation with the young people here, at their office, so the comrade secretary called the secretary and president of the local conference on the Klana Socialist Youth League.

The secretary is Ana Susnik, who is 21 years old and a pedagogy student in Rijeka.

Ana: Our organization has about 250 members, including high school students, university students and young workers. Previously our problem was that, up until 1977, we were somehow always in a becalmed state. Then a few of us got

down to work, and the present president was elected. We didn't even have a place where we could meet. Some activities existed at the level of the local community, such as collecting papers. The youth got together sometimes, but there was still a feeling of detachment and lack of organization. Our task was to gather our young people together in one place, to create a base. We began to hold meetings, and the young people came to them. We undertook some projects, formed a reconnaissance detachment and the like. We also formed several commissions to get the young people involved who were not part of the leadership, a commission for culture, for information, and for sociopolitical work. However, I don't know whether it was our failure or what, but the work of those commissions amounted to zero. And we had thought that precisely by that form of work the young people would become involved, so that each commission would set certain objectives for itself and work to realize them. Those commissions, however, fell apart, and the only thing that remained was the commission for sports and recreation, and perhaps for culture.

Soon we had a meeting at the level of the opstina conference, where we spoke about the activities of young people throughout the Rijeka opstina. I was worried about our local community, but when I presented our problems, I saw that it was the same way in all the other local communities. Then the secretary said that the youth were trained in ideology and politics in the high schools, through the courses they attend, while our work was probably best done in organizing entertainment and in sports.

We plan by spring to organize a discussion forum, in which people can talk about interesting topics, including everything from religion to the worldwide student movement. But I said at that meeting that I could bring the best university professor, and he would come, but whether anyone else besides me and him would be there, I didn't know.

Our youth organization has very, very few members of the League of Communists. I would not go into details, and I would not criticize anyone, I am not an LCY member, but I am active, while we have LCY members who will not take on any job. If there are 10 of them, there are not more than that, and they are inactive members because they need it for something. There are people who do well at the university, who go their own way and do not want to devote themselves to anything else that would use their time. They do not want to have any greater feeling of responsibility.

Now we have fought for and won this space, and you know that it means a great deal when we can gather in one place and seek agreement. It is something else when you have to send everyone an invitation at home.

In the meantime, Eugen Valencic, president of the local conference of the Socialist Youth League, arrived. He was not so talkative, but it was not our impression that he had nothing to say.

Valencic: Yes. Now, when we have the space, we are like a youth organization that is beginning, that has just been established.

It is my opinion, by the way, that the young people think that older people have no trust in them. Whenever something is being done, no one asks those

from 18 to 20 years of age a thing about it. Yet those are the years of the most spirit and enthusiasm.

Ana: I think that has been changing recently.

Eugen: I don't think so.

Ana: I think that the young people themselves are often the cause of this. Often five of us come, instead of 50.

Eugen: I think that we should be talked with more, like this... I am a construction technician, and as such I am employed at the "Jadran" enterprise in Rijeka. As far as I know, in my enterprise the youth organization does not function at all.

I am not satisfied with the work of our youth organization. Most people behave as if they have nothing at all to do with it. I feel as though I were dragging a load through the water....

We should do something that will attract young people. For example, look at these ping-pong tables. There it appears that we hit the mark. Quite a few come to play. Now that we have the space, it is our job to use it appropriately. If more of us come, then we will be able to discuss what else we should do. Otherwise, to be a youth leader here means, as I said, to pull a load through the water.

[Main text] Ana: You are here talking with us now, but if you were to talk with someone else who is not in the presidium, that person would certainly say that he knows nothing about what is being organized, he knows nothing. Yet when we call a meeting of all the young people, in the best instance about 25 of them come. There is no broad response. Or when in the framework of the opstina conference we are supposed to carry out some work project, no one responds. Or a political school.... Total lack of response or interest.

I don't know whether I should even mention another problem we have encountered. I would only like to present that example to show what it means when the young people are given something. We have seen that now, after we got this facility. But when we were out there at loose ends, while the young people had no place to gather, last year a new priest came, a young, ambitious man who in a short time gathered quite a few young people and got them involved. He had the resources, and he promised the young people that he would make a new combination, that he would buy instruments, that he would do this and that. Briefly, he gathered a lot of young people around him. But I wanted to say that that ideological position doesn't mean that much. They all go there for their own interests. Now that we have the space, they will come here too. That means, I will be where they give me the most, without any particular position of my own.

Another problem is that the youth leadership is not going to change. We have just gotten a little experience, but our second term in office is about to expire, and now again we have to find some young people who want to become involved.

At Father Pero's

We waited all afternoon for the priest. He returned from visiting homes just before the evening service, and arranged a meeting with us for the next day.

We talked in the parlor of the parish office. Our host, Father Pero Zeba, was born 13 years ago at Perventa. He waved off with a laugh our statement that we had heard he had "brought the village re-birth."

Father Zeba: Really, I am glad that you wish to write about Klana, because it is a little town that wants to define itself as a place to live.

In this small place, naturally the priest has quite a lot of authority, but the growth of that authority depends on his own personal involvement among the people, for finally, his service itself is to make bonds with people, to fill their most intimate needs, including everyday entertainment and games. The church is not a building, as we hear from those who say that churches are cultural and historical monuments. The church is always a living community of people, concrete individuals who move in and through Klana here. At least that is how I perceive it. Therefore, I am the priest of a living church, and that means that I am not only a priest in that ritual sense, as was once thought, but that I am a priest at every moment that I am among people, whether that be at a little cafe, at a sports match, in some disco club, or here in my apartment. So I am always a priest.

Now as a younger man, here in Klana, I perceived my life's mission to be first to sense the needs of the people here. Klana is a village environment, yet we have all the urban features, with a rich cultural tradition, and a person must put all of that into its proper perspective, because we also have that urban alienation, particularly among the young. And then, one must approach the task from a position of friendship and lay his cards on the table. First one must open himself up, not be closed, but go in such a way that others will open up as well. But first, he must open himself. My approach was to open the door of this house, to welcome all who have a need to come. It is understandable that that is a small change in the relationships of the church toward the people of this region. Previously it was chiefly an office relationship. And thus, a lot of bridges began to be built. Young people easily perceive such things. That means, they found a friend. And now what do I do? Nothing special. Just the everyday priestly duties, nothing else.

ZUM REPORTER: Then we ask, are you building the bridge?

Father Zeba: I truly go from house to house. My apartment is often locked. Everyone knows where they can find me, I am usually going around to the houses. Where the people gather, that is where I am. You can see that yourselves, I have picked up the local dialect. Yes, and that is one of the conditions, to completely identify with the locale, to accept their habits, language, and if you want, some other aspects of the heritage....

It is very difficult to make contact with the young people. They really have no inherent problems in accepting someone. They do not even look at my clerical collar. Do you understand? They always look to see if a man is coming to them openly, to see that he is not hiding anything behind his back. Obviously, as soon as they were to discover that I was going to catch them in a net, a church one if you wish, then the game would be over and thrown away in an instant. But if they recognize in me a man who wants to be one of them... And if I have something to help them, then I will never initiate it myself, but they themselves will feel the need to tell me. They will say, "Listen, reverend. You are a little older, what do you think about this?" And then we will seek an answer together.

Thus the village of the young is open and direct. They have no fear, no closed nature or any of that political attitude toward people. Nor are they pragmatists, while older people are terribly pragmatic, and every institution is pragmatic toward the young. For that reason the young cannot bear all of those institutional envoys, because they are seeking advantages, either to include the young people among this or that group, or to seek some concessions from them, and so forth.

That is really today's younger generation.

THE CHURCH: The church does not really need that. At least that is what I think. We do not need any sort of commitment or conversion from the young people; rather we say, "welcome, my children, even when you are intoxicated and when the thunder against God and against the holy is roaring in your head, and when you are exceptionally ready to accept all of that. Thus in both cases, you are welcome. Always."

THE REPORTER: They say that since you came, many more young people are coming to church.

FATHER JOHN: (Laughs). Listen, it is like this: The nature of young people is always involvement. That means that you need to know how to get that active involvement into the right channel. Here, we have undertaken to renovate the church. I know that young people had no great love for shovels, but I also know that, if I motivated them, they would grab them. Therefore, those motivated hands that they got working on the church were something they loved and took pride in, and now they say, "you see, we too have created something." After that, through certain definite forms one always calls them to join that church. It is a part of us, and they recognize that, that is understandable. That is all.

THE REPORTER: ...And in increasing numbers?

FATHER JOHN: Listen, we don't have a statistical office to count that. That is not so important. The young people come to church gladly. I can safely say that until they are 18, all come to catechism. Those are regular scheduled hours that are held by classes...

The manner of operating catechism in the city is very flexible. There the authority and calling of the priest with a speech is not enough. There a more

mature approach is necessary: One has to act with children as if they were adults. 'Oh Ivica, where have you been, we haven't seen you, welcome.' So Ivica becomes as worthy as a grown person, even though he is still a child. Soon he has a familiar relationship with his class leader, and then if his parents do not remember that it is time for catechism, Ivica remembers all by himself, feels the need for it because he remembers that in that environment he was happy.

ZUM REPORTER: Do you have any other forms of organized gatherings for youth?

Father Zeba: I have only been a priest for a few years. As long as I have been one, I have been involved with such gatherings. Thus, we thought that it was necessary to organize disco clubs, excursions and the like for young people. But I have concluded that they do not expect that from the church. I discovered that after a time, young people find out that they can find those diversions everywhere. They can find them in public places, where they are better organized and supplied. Thus that is not a priority task of the church. From the church, they expect precisely that which will bring things from the unconscious into the conscious mind. That is defining oneself as a person, or a concept of self and one's purpose in this world. You know, for example, how young children can ask existential questions. Things like I would not have been born here if I had been choosing, I will leave this world not of my own choosing, and so therefore why am I living in this world at all. Such questions today are common for the generation that is in pre-puberty. It is clear that they can find such existential answers in the church. You know that recently we have been baptizing adults, people in their thirties of every type, from intellectuals to simple workers. You know, they say that we have been reading, we have seen things about the Bible on television, things about Holy Scripture, and up until now that world was foreign to us.... And now clearly, if that world opens up to them as they truly wish, they accept it and become a part of that world, that is, of the church. And that is good, because it is precisely the role of the church in some way to shape the moral image of a person....

The Klana church is a living church, a responsible church. It is jointly responsible for every mistake. Perhaps that is not so organized and pronounced at some meetings, because we don't even need that. But at its Sunday gatherings, the church is active. You feel it when everyone folds his hands and prays. There you feel a powerful responsibility of the entire congregation for its own fate. Do you understand? Clearly, that responsibility is transported out of that place. They are called to take that conscience, which is awakened or which at least has its most intensive being there, out of that place, and to continue to be constantly conscious and responsible for their actions. That means that when you see that your brother or neighbor is suffering, you must not say that that is the job of the Red Cross, of the priest, or of someone else. Rather, that is your duty, to run to his aid, because you are that church and that is what you do.

People today experience as the worst of evils that distrust, faithlessness, that feeling of betrayal. And in all that a very important factor is friendship, which is a constituent precisely of the church to which they

belong. To belong to a church means to have a friend always to whom you can open yourself up without fear of betrayal. That is tremendously necessary for a person.

ZUM REPORTER: Our last question: Do you encounter any problems in your work here?

Father Zabar: There are problems and there will be more, but as far as concrete problems that I can count on my fingers, there are none. You see, the people who speak about problems and spell them out in working with people, are not the best suited for working with people. That is because they always make the problems material, while the problems in working with people are within you. If you solve the problems within you, then you will solve those problems, which are banal and material, in some way. Let's say you don't have enough room, you lack resources, everything is sort of settling. You should sit down and talk about it, people don't ask just to have a good time. Everyone, including the young people, are looking for something different. Listen we have let people go too much. We thought that they simply had to have this or that, that it should be possible to do such and such.... They can be patient a while too, you know. Why, when they come to this cold church now, remember, it is -15°C, should they stand for an hour? Yet they stand here. At some other place, where the temperature is 25°C and there are armchairs and stereo music, but nobody comes. That means that you have to motivate people. And so I say that I have no problems, and that there are none and there dare not be any. I solve all the problems with the one who can solve them.

That the Kiana pastor does a great deal and thinks of everything is further demonstrated by the following letter, which ends with his name:

Dear family,

Soon a year will have passed since I became your pastor. It seems to me that this amount of time is fully enough to determine how we have grown together and become friends, and so I am writing these lines in that sort of tone to you.

First of all, I want to thank you especially for the great attention and help you offered me upon my arrival here. Much of that was needed in order for me to perform the work of a parish priest normally. The apartment was totally without furniture and rather unkempt. Thanks to all of you and to God, now everything is in order, as you have already seen. If you have not, please be my welcome guest soon.

We have turned to restoring the churches. Their conditions and appearance were a true challenge to our Kiana dignity and faithfulness to the Church. The work on the roof of the big church is nearly done. The expenses of restoration are vexingly high, but we are not to blame for that. Thanks to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the will of the majority is still strong. Shortly we have been working on the roof of St. Rok. After Peter's Day we will return to the big church, where we will replace the entire ceiling and cover it with our plans. I am certain that that sort of mosaic appearance

will make our church more unified and impressive. Along the way, we will install all new windows, for gifts to pay for them have already been received. The facade of the sanctuary and the new door will depend on the arrival of your help, while renovating the catechism hall in the old church parish house for now is simply a pious wish. The material alone for these projects cost us 360,000 dinars, and so far we have collected 210,000. The deficit is obvious, but we must not be alarmed by it.

As you see, I am not complaining to you about anything. The long tongues that fault us all for fiscal imprudence are meaningless. I am thankful to you all, and numerous examples make me proud as the Klana parish priest. We are continuing our cooperation with the same zeal for the good of our town and the entire Catholic Church.

At 10:30 on Sunday, June 28, 1981, there will be a Corpus Christi procession through our town. I invite you to attend. I would ask that all the houses and the altars, in front of which the procession will pass, be suitably decorated.

If you are free and able, come with us on Sunday, July 5, 1981 on a pilgrimage to Marija Bistrica, our greatest Croatian shrine, where we will pray. May God bless you and your fields and homes, and may you live for many years in friendship.

Your pastor,
Pero Zeba

At the Grzincic's

We went to the home of Andrija Grzincic for two reasons: Grandfather Andrija and grandmother Marija had just celebrated their golden anniversary, and three generations live together in their house. We found grandfather Andrija and grandmother Marija at home, together with their son Franjo, their older grandson Branimir, a student in the second class of the Technical High School in Rijeka, and the younger grandson Jasmin. After congratulations, along with coffee, we noted this conversation.

Andrija: I worked at the sawmill in Klana for 40 years. We lived however we could. Now people live well. The people in Klana are good. I don't think there is any hatred, the people visit us, and the biggest gathering place is the church, on Sunday, especially since that young priest has been there.

Branimir: That is right, he is very sociable, he is a great comrade. He is ready to put the kids in his car and take them to the playground. Now they have made some sort of club house here in the basement of the local office building. There is chess, table tennis and the like. So far I have only been there once. There is a big crowd. In summer I go to the basketball court at school. But there we play, there is no conversation. I don't go to catechism any more. I have outgrown that. But all of us used to go, from the other towns around here too, from Studena. Now I only go to church on Sunday. You can have fine chats with the new priest. You can go to his place whenever

you need something, you can find him at home at any time. We talk about everything, even sports, because he likes sports too.

Jasna: I am in the fourth grade, at Vezica in Rijeka, but I come here to visit grandpa and grandma, on vacation. Otherwise, I come to my Klana every Sunday. I would rather live here than in Vezica. Here it is nicer. Every day now I go to church and help. Yesterday they started a choir, and so I went to choir. I like that very much. There we sing lovely church songs. Now we are going to learn one about Klana that our previous priest wrote. But the new priest is very good. He took me and two of my friends to see his sister.

Franjo: He is sociable, he receives everyone without exception in the same way. After New Year's he visited every house. We talked about general problems, about problems at home and in the town. He does not get mixed up in any politics, just religion. We trust him just as though he was with us every day at home.

At the Soljanin

When we left the Grizovic house, we sought the house of the Soljanin family. We had heard that the children of that family did not go to catechism. Rightly, the mother, was alone with the children, Alisa and Alan, who is eleven. Her husband was at work.

Miroslav: We moved here from Rijeka 1 year ago. The way we live here, without, is the best. Others only visit us when there is a death in the family. I have accepted it that way.

Many prevent anyone from going to church, that is a private matter. And yet they rebuke my children because they do not go. And even that is not enough, they even attack them physically. Where does that lead? One boy even asked me, he was 10 years old, if we were communists since we did not go to church. Of all those children, all but a few go to catechism, and they are all believers too. But these others, "atheists" as they call them, then they are "degraded." Perhaps they should form some kind of League of Communists for the Youngest. Then they could hold their meetings and studies. At the meetings they could nurture brotherhood and unity, learn about comrade Tito and the National Liberation War,--things they don't by any means learn at catechism. A small town is dangerous. You should stay here 15 days to really get acquainted with the life in a place like this.

After every class at my school goes to one hour of catechism....

Alisa: It is at least in their behavior they would follow the Bible....

Alisa: Just think, at my school, by an entrance into the new gymnasium, which has not even been put into service yet, someone wrote "Long Live God" and even carried a cross by it.

And the only children who do not go to catechism are the teacher's daughter, I have never known, Sandra, Alisa, Valtor and I. But Valtor's sister goes.

and maybe he goes too. One day Stanislava said to me, "You ride a bicycle, but you don't go to catechism."

Biserka: And her father has been in the League of Communists for 15 years.

Alisa: One day Vanda told me in school, when she was arranging with Tamara to go to catechism, that I shouldn't forget to go. I answered them "What is catechism to me?"

Alan: And an elder boy beat me up because I don't go to catechism.

Biserka: And all of that is so underhanded and vile, like long ago... I greet all the older neighbor women, but they hardly respond. They do not see us in church, and so we are not nice to them. In a small town it is a disgrace if they don't see you in church.... You know, I have given blood 29 times for small children, and now those little children are beating my children because they do not go to church.

ZUM REPORTER: We headed for the nice school building that was built in 1968 by contributions from the population. The school is named for Anton Raspor-Spanski, a veteran, the commander of the First Istria Company. We did not find any of the teachers or other personnel. Here the four-week winter vacation had already begun.

Doubting little Alan's word a bit, we went around the building, and on the facade above the gymnasium we saw carved in the stucco "Long Live God." Probably because of that, the other words we had heard at the Soljanins' house seemed less hard to believe.

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SUVAR-KRNJEVIC POLEMICS OVER KRLEZA'S VIEWS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 82 p 9

[Commentary by B. M.: "An Attack Launched Out of Suspicious Motives"]

[Text] Responding to Vuk Krnjevic, editor in chief of KNJIZEVNOST, Dr Stipe Suvar, in a commentary published in yesterday's and today's edition of POLITIKA, concludes, among other things, that some of the remarks that are being made on the subject of the reprinting of Krleza's "Dialectical Antibarbarism" are in effect tantamount to an "attack launched for purposes of political manipulation."

Responding to renewed criticism from Dr Stipe Suvar over the fact that the editors of the Belgrade journal KNJIZEVNOST, without suitable accompanying critical commentary, reprinted Krleza's essay "Dialectical Antibarbarism," doing so right after the death of this literary immortal, the editor in chief of KNJIZEVNOST, Vuk Krnjevic, wrote a letter to POLITIKA which it printed under the heading "Polemic" in its edition for 24 February. As had been expected, Krnjevic rejected this criticism and all of the other charges leveled against KNJIZEVNOST and he then went on to voice some other complaints at Dr Suvar's expense.

In reply to the observation that, as a reflection of KNJIZEVNOST's alleged editorial sloppiness, the journal did a rush job on the publication of "Antibarbarism," Krnjevic says that, "there is probably no editorial board that was not prepared to pay their due respects to this great writer, just as distinguished cultural and public officials also had their own declarations and speeches prepared for this occasion." Krnjevic interprets all this--and, hence, KNJIZEVNOST's gesture as well--as a demonstration of paying the homage that was due to Miroslav Krleza.

Stirring Up an Old Controversy

Going on to point out that Suvar "is a defender of shopkeepers and lackeys" and that he does not know Krleza nor did he read Ocak's text (which deals with prewar controversies on the literary left--Editor's Note),--the editor in chief of KNJIZEVNOST accuses Suvar of engaging in "Stalinist name-calling" and goes so far as to doubt whether Suvar has even read "Antibarbarism." In

addition to the constant list of the people serving on the committee that will be responsible for deciding after Krleža's literary legacy are incompetent, Krleža also has this to say: "Objectively speaking, to be opposed to this day and age to the publication of 'Antibarbarism' is tantamount to being opposed to antidogmatic interpretations of the role of art under socialism."

Krleža's letter concludes by pointing out that in its next issue KNJIZEVNOST will also print Krleža's reply—which also dates back to 1939—in Krleža's "Antibarbarism."

And as was to be expected, Krleža's commentary did not go unanswered. Dr Stipe Švarc spoke out in yesterday's edition of POLITIKA in a commentary entitled "Barbarians Striding Over the Open Ground." Švarc asserts that he does not respond in reply to Vuk Krleža's "trivial imputations," rather he says that he will once again offer a few necessary explanations. While rejecting civilizing imperialist dogmatism, the members of the Krleža Foundation, since it "is made up of representatives of all those institutions that are mentioned in Krleža's will," Dr Švarc sticks to the position that this is in reality a question of the political manipulation of Krleža and his essay "Antibarbarism," which "was looked upon with unprecedented aggressiveness, immediately after the author's death, by a certain circle representing our petty-bourgeois-radical intelligentsia."

This is also meant to indicate that the political controversy surrounding the controversy on the political left is heating up and that Krleža himself was opposed to the publication of "Antibarbarism" in this way, meaning that KNJIZEVNOST failed to respect the author's wishes. Parenthetically speaking, but without leaving around the issue, Švarc also criticizes certain other intelligentsia for misunderstanding Krleža's unwillingness to have "Dialectical Antibarbarism" republished during his lifetime. What this boils down to, concludes Švarc, is that Krleža, according to his assessors, was afraid of the consequences which the reprinting of this essay might cause him. Stipe Švarc's commentary, the continuation of which appears in today's edition of POLITIKA, concludes with the following words:

The Antibarbarism of Krleža:

"... we must, kind, comrades remind! We have been waiting for him to die so that we could speak those and similar 'truths' about him!"

The idea, in spite of searching and searching in the arguments of our petty bourgeoisie, we found (and the strange point of the present day, was the continuing of 1939-44 dogmatism). It was about (all quotes are from the 10 February 1985 issue of KNJIZEVNA VEŠT) "the real conflict that existed between two worlds of barbarism, two systems of aesthetics, two schools of the applied word, ... the dilemma is this: truth or lies, civilization or barbarism, individual or systemic barbarism, the true left or the pseudoleft, ..." However, as described Krleža's "values" were with the prevailing ideology that influences party politics. He felt that this ideology was the antithesis of the "Antibarbarism" of Krleža, and was a "dogma" of the "Antibarbarism" of Krleža.

"Believes that the 'independence of the intellectual and the artist is the essence of the leftist line and the sense of commitment to revolution.' This 'does not have anything to do with a literary quarrel, rather it has everything to do with a hard-fought political struggle.' Krleza was opposed by those who learned Stalin's lessons by heart. Those people who were denouncing the supporters of Krleza 'were at one and the same time the people who were conforming to the policies of the Comintern.' This is all the more reason why this 'is no family squabble...that should be quickly forgotten.' Krleza writes his polemical essay in an Aesopian style 'not primarily because of the bourgeois positions which he is defending, but rather for the sake of his comrades standing on the other side of the barricades.' He also evades the issue of discipline, since the discipline in question is the kind that implies rolling back' including, among others, the heads of his own friends.' This was not a controversy on the literary left, but rather on the intellectual left as a whole. This was because the CPY 'had been bolshevized, as they said in those days, while in reality it had been Stalinized.'

"And so on and so forth. We have seen how Krleza was afraid, how he capitulated, and now we see what the 1939 controversy was all about: M. Krleza against the Stalinist and Stalinized CPY.

"Our modern heroes were waiting, let me repeat, for M. Krleza to die, and then they would explain everything to us. And they waited to emblazon his 'Antibarbarism' across the banner of their ongoing petty bourgeois intellectual counterrevolution. To this extent KNIZEVSOST's 'coup of the year' was nothing more than the first of several planned and calculated moves. The freedom or nonfreedom of the press in the printing of 'Antibarbarism' is not at all the issue. Even this polemical tract of Krleza's is going to be printed in just the way that Krleza himself wanted to see it published. And so what we are dealing with here is nothing more than an attack launched for purposes of political manipulation.

They do Not Spare Tito

"Indeed, they do not even spare Josip Broz-Tito. They are rewriting the history of the party and the revolution, since 'up until recently what we have had is more or less a "hagiography."' This new history of theirs also includes the following detail, i.e., the real Stalinists, and these were the people who were leading our communist movement in those years, 'live in the dark night, and at night they could hear the NKVD carrying people off to the scaffold, and yet they remained Stalinists.'

"So, this is the truth that is finally being told to the younger generations, and all of this is being done in the name of M. Krleza and his 'Antibarbarism.'

"However, M. Krleza well knew that J. B. Tito was no Stalinist and that it was in this country that he, together with his comrade revolutionaries and at the head of a workers and peasants movement, paved the way for and carried out a profoundly anti-Stalinist revolution. And it certainly is not so that Mr. Krleza '...was also looking for the hobnail of police boots in the march of the revolutionary masses.'

"Stalin, however, is a man who has been described as appearing and his
image has been painted more on the Western wall. And it is probably true
that he looked upon (CCP) as well as (CCP) as a symbol, as both his own leader
and the center of his party. Our people can become think that Khrushchev began to
view this in this way after he. Khrushchev Khrushchev, according to them, had al-
ready turned his (face to wall) back."

"The Khrushchev claims that, 'they're apparatuses intellect reduces him...to
believing in a man that resembles Stalinist name-calling.' All right then, if
he can make like this thing that I, too, am a Stalinist by virtue of the fact
that I came here and stayed here and the CCP, way back in 1939 and in all
of the years that followed, were not in any way the servants of Stalin, but
rather that at that time they were having the sun for and later led and pro-
moted one of the most logically consistent and most genuine revolutions of our
era, if they think that I am a Stalinist also by virtue of the fact that I do
not agree with (Khrushchev) which by a peculiar flight of fancy are sup-
posed to prove that the (CCP) of 1939 are being some other than our one and
only (Khrushchev), then I am indeed a Stalinist! And so I am a Stalinist
for the sake of a (Khrushchev) and for the sake of the Party."

The speaker then says:

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RAGE EXPRESSED OVER PRIVILEGES OF PARASITIC BUREAUCRATS

Belgrade DUKA in Serbo-Croatian, No 207, 30 Jan 82 p 14

[Article by Dragan Barjaktarevic: "The Rank-and-File Bureaucrats"]

[Text] At any airport, in the leading cities of any republic, one can see the following scene every day: a dozen or so big, black Mercedes waiting for a dozen or so important people, both public and private, familiar and unfamiliar. The airplane lands and the first important comrade climbs into a Mercedes and leaves, then the second important comrade gets into a Mercedes and leaves, then the third comrade gets into the third car and so on. The more important the person is, the bigger his limousine. People who are not quite as important have smaller cars waiting for them. Lesser officials--the masses go by bus--have smaller cars yet. The esteemed people do not travel with their esteemed public, the esteemed directors and secretaries travel as befits their class, and not even with one another, because one Mercedes is not large enough to carry two or three important comrades!

Mind you, no one has anything against Mercedes and high-level leaders. It is all the same how, for example, Sergej Krajger, Dragoslav Markovic or Veselin Djuranovic choose to get around. But there are so many Mercedes and so many privileges used by people who want to be like the Krajgers, the Markovics and the Djuranovics. It doesn't matter if their opstinas are poverty stricken or their labor organizations in the process of liquidation and so on. It is hard to find a "leading young man" of any underdeveloped opstina who does not rush about in a Mercedes, even a used one. The small imitate the great, because the little man is very concerned with formality!

In the leading party of every republic there are clubs and restaurants for the important people. For the esteemed masses there are self-service cafeterias. Almost every opstina has some little place such as private dining rooms, where their important people can sit and eat in peace. The esteemed masses of the opstina must be satisfied with taverns.

This writer eats in a worker's dining hall in his labor collective. Worker's food can give a man an ulcer. Coffee costs 7 dinars; this is expensive for a worker. But then what does a worker need with coffee at his place of work? Isn't this drink only consumed in offices? And the food is expensive, one can hardly afford it. However, I was in the restaurant of one of our most esteemed labor organizations. Important comrades who struggle for worker's rights,

especially for a free warm meal, have the most luxurious restaurant in Belgrade, with overstuffed easy chairs, the cheapest food and coffee at a nominal two and a half dinars. There are special dietary foods, attractive waitresses; alcohol is available in the afternoon. Workers cannot enter this restaurant, as you need a special pass to get in to sit and eat!

Bureaucrats are in the position to provide themselves with everything. At first the demands are modest. The toilets should have enough soap, toilet paper, and towels! Privileges do not come automatically, one must fight for them!

We read in the papers that the youth leadership of Serbia is seeking a total of 1.7 billion old dinars for its congress this year (similar demands are undoubtedly true of organizations in other republics and provinces). Only a month ago we read a report by this leadership that told of the "resolute struggle of the youth organization for stabilization and economy." We later read that some officials of this leadership are provided with free rooms in the most elite hotels in Belgrade. Meanwhile, workers and other youths sublet rooms in cellars, students sleep on their bureaus and on the floor, and so on. We hear talk about establishing the connection between the leadership and the base. This is certainly very nice, but the connection is possible only under equal conditions, at least under the conditions that we all live in today!

This leadership needs to come to an agreement at the congress as to what the base must work on for the next 4 years. The meeting will be held at the Sava Representative Center. Within the center is the beautiful Interkontinental, the most luxurious hotel in the south, which accommodates world statesmen and bankers. The leadership and the delegates will discuss working youth, students, rural youth and they will talk about barns, shovels, pick-axes, stabilization, and economy! There are many colonies for labor brigade leaders with large auditoriums and sound systems, with beds on the second floor with firm mattresses, with lots of room. The rank-and-file bureaucrats stay in the hotel and the youths stay in barns!

We have read, who knows how many times, about how the schools that train people for jobs in labor are crying for students and how the schools for rank-and-file bureaucrats are overcrowded. The fruits of the bureaucratic life style are apparent to everyone. A Mercedes looks better than a tractor or a Derrick!

A year ago, the youth organization boasted that things were changing, and it gave us some information telling how 40 young women from Kakanj had enrolled in a mining school. It is not true that everyone wants to be a clerk; that is, to become a member of the rank-and-file bureaucracy. Later it turned out that these women enrolled in the school in order to be eligible for social insurance and children's allowance, because there was no room for them in the other schools, the ones preparing students for bureaucratic career!

Sead Prnjavorac, an official of the Federal Chamber of the Bosnia and Hercegovina trade union, recently said that changes were being made, albeit only in some places and only rather timidly, in order to correct some of the bureaucratic abuse. In the Tito Coal Mines in Tuzla, the miners earn two or three times more than the administration. "The pronounced fluctuation has been halted for some time now, and many students, from technical schools, secondary schools, and others, have put on miner's lamp....," says Prnjavorac.

Undoubtedly, the rank-and-file bureaucracy will soon advertise this example as loudly as possible. That's what it is good at. Meanwhile, the airplanes will land, the Mercedes will start up, and so on.

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INCIDENCE OF FARMING AS OFFICIALS' SIDELINE NOTED

Criticism of Practice

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1626, 28 Feb 82
pp 20-21

[Article by Luka Ivkovic and Rade Subotic: "Some New Peasants"]

[Text] If a peasant is to live and survive, even today he must be all things--a partially trained agronomist, a jackleg mechanic, even his own physician. Does this mean that partial training is adequate in every case, then anyone can be a peasant?

Ivan Jambrovic, director of the "Grapegrowing" OOUR [Basic Organization of Associated Labor] of the Kutjevo PPK [Agricultural and Food Processing Combine] is not, of course, a peasant, but a few years ago he bought 4 hectares of a large vineyard. He remained director, but he at the same time became a farmer, a grapegrower. Once a month he would receive at the Kutjevo cashier's window his director's salary, and once a year he would come to the same cashier's window to be paid for the grapes picked on his (personal) vineyard and sold to his (socially owned) work organization: Kutjevo. In 1979 and 1980 he was paid 1.3 million dinars (130 million old dinars) for the grapes he sold.

Vinko Hruskar is Jambrovic's assistant director, but he has been getting still more on his own account in grapegrowing: He cultivates 8 hectares of vineyard, 3 hectares of which are entered in the land records under his name (in accordance with the law), and the other 5 hectares are entered under the names of relatives and friends of his in Zagreb. In 2 years he received 1.79 million dinars (179 million old dinars) for grapes sold to his work organization: Kutjevo. Vajna Kokeza, social defender of self-management law for Slavonia and Baranja, says that Hruskar's total costs in cultivating 8 hectares of vineyards did not exceed 144,000 dinars (about 14.4 million old dinars).

Director Jambrovic and his assistant Hruskar give evidence by their example that the renting of land and sideline farming are sometimes an extremely lucrative business. In the villages of Slavonia these people are already called agrobusinessmen. The "business" they are in obviously is a clever combination of the advantages offered them by the fact that they are employed in management positions in socially owned agricultural organizations and the general

state of agriculture and rural affairs, the large number of households whose members cannot cultivate their land because they are elderly.

Some people, then, are abandoning their fields, do not want or are not able to cultivate them, while others are buying or renting them.

Judging by what has been happening in recent years in rural areas (800,000 hectares of uncultivated land) and with farmers (almost half of the households are unable to cultivate the land because of old age), for some people farming is again becoming a business, even a good business. Some new peasants have emerged--directors, agronomists, physicians and even opstina presidents.... By and large they are not peasants, and they do not think of turning into farmers; they do not want to become the heirs of the former farmers who are old and feeble; nor do they think of leaving their jobs in the socialized sector, their salaries, and their social security and health insurance, their annual vacation and all the other advantages and perquisites they are entitled to. Often they even remain far from the land which they purchase or rent and do not leave the centers where decisions are made on agricultural policy, about fertilizer, seed, machinery and everything indispensable if the land is to be cultivated in a modern way.

"There are more and more people in rural areas whose job is not farming," we were told by Milorad Kovacevic, M.A., director of Agrokombinat in Subotica, "but we have often relied on them in carrying out farm policy. Many of them know better than the peasants themselves where to get fertilizer, seed, chemicals for disease and pest control and other things, and some take advantage of that, so that when others go without, they see that they get everything...."

Is this abuse? Can it be said that it ought to be stopped even if this means that hundreds of thousands of hectares are left uncultivated or the land is left to "elderly hands" for halfway cultivation which can produce only half the yield?

A Collapse of Reputation

In a recent meeting of agronomists in Novi Sad tones were rather polemical about this leasing of land. Nikola Kmezic, chairman of the Vojvodina Executive Council, even addressed the agronomists who were gathered and cautioned them in words that were not exactly tender that the leasing of land is an increasingly widespread phenomenon in all 50 opstinas in the Province of Vojvodina. Kmezic said that the agronomists ought to fight for the cultivation of the abandoned land to become a public concern rather than to be "cooperating" on that land on their own account. In Zabalj Opstina, according to Kmezic, more than 50 specialists, some of them indeed managers of OOUR's, are cultivating large areas of rented land. In Vrbas the boss of the machine pool is cultivating more than 30 hectares of land on his own account. With whose machines?

"This collapses the reputation which many farming specialists in Vojvodina have gained through several years of work," Kmezic concluded.

Almost all agronomists engaging in cooperation with farmers are leasing land, it was said at that meeting in Novi Sad. Some agronomists are even leasing 20 hectares or more, and in one village an agricultural specialist who does not have his own machines has even leased all of 100 hectares. Is it possible to cultivate 100 hectares without the machines that belong to the socialized sector and without hired labor?

Not only at the meeting in Novi Sad, but also at other meetings and on other occasions, there has been frequent talk in Vojvodina about the leasing of land. Those who do not approve present various details: During working hours the agronomists are seen more often on the fields which they are cultivating on their own account than on the plots of land belonging to other cooperators. It is said among other things that many agronomists draw their principal income from the leasing of land, while their salary is only for pocket money.

Even physicians, office personnel in cooperatives, and teachers are becoming new "farmers".... Darts of criticism and suspicion have been mainly aimed, however, at agronomists and managers of socialized farms. Why?

"If the managers and specialists are taking advantage of the benefits offered them by their position or job," Milorad Kovacevic says, "in order to obtain seed and fertilizer or machines ahead of other farmers, that certainly is not right...."

The thinking is similar in Slavonia and Baranja, where certain directors and influential people on the farms of the socialized sector have been renting land for years and earning millions using socially owned equipment to cultivate it. Some 10 years ago criminal charges were prepared against Obrad Davidovic, an engineer and director of the Mirkovac RO [Work Organization]. Everything was hushed up at that time, but Davidovic's name is being mentioned again. Even today he is the director of a work organization which is a subsidiary of the Belje PIKM [an agroindustrial combine, but further expansion intended], and again there is talk about fabulous earnings realized from renting other people's land.

At a recent meeting of public defenders of self-management law of Slavonia and Baranja astounding data were presented. Aleksandar Kendresic, who holds this position in Beli Manastir, said that last year 25 million dinars were paid at the "cashiers' windows of Belje for farm products purchased from people who are not farmers. "The agrobusinessmen," Kendresic said, "do not know where to stop."

Some of them are even tilling socialized land on their own account, aside from the fields they buy or rent from households consisting of elderly members.

"Social property must be protected from greedy people," Antun Smit, deputy district public prosecutor in Osijek, concluded.

If Newsmen Can ...

Of course, not all those who rent land are so-called "agrobusinessmen," nor even farming specialists. Of the approximately 1.2 million hectares of fertile Vojvodina fields, more than 350,000 hectares belong to households consisting of elderly people, and their land is mainly "set aside" for leasing.

"The largest areas are leased by farmers," says Milorad Kovacevic, "and most of them are well-off peasants who have all the machines to cultivate the land. They often pay rent for several years in advance, and the elderly farmers who own the land receive sizable amounts of money at one time and do not draw up any sort of contracts or give receipts."

Yet many people in Vojvodina and Slavonia feel that all of this is better than for the land to go untilled. Let it be taken by anyone who can and will cultivate it, and if he happens to earn money thereby, the harm to society is less than if the land went "unplowed," and the households of elderly people lived in a condition of extreme want.

"What is to be done when only 10 percent of the farm households have heirs remaining in rural areas to till the land?" concluded Rajko Babic in his section of "Poljoprivreda i selo danas" [Agriculture and Rural Areas Today].

Even some agronomists, "new farmers," refuse to take the blame.

"Why is it considered impermissible for an agronomist to rent land?" wonders Milorad Popovic, an engineer from Sirig. If journalists can earn additional money by writing for other papers, or physicians by working in other outpatient clinics, why is it considered a sin for agronomists to cultivate someone else's land and to earn money doing it?

He was answered at the Novi Sad conference by Nikola Kmezic.

"It is certain that something must be done to help specialists, agronomists, to be better rewarded," Kmezic remarked, "but it is not permissible for land to be rented by those who are supposed to organize socialized production on the farms of private farmers."

Yet why is it that the socialized sector is standing off to one side? We talked about this with Stanislav Sigulinski, chairman of the Business Board of Agros in Subotica.

"Agros of Subotica was among the first in Yugoslavia to offer very good conditions for the long-term leasing of land. Private farmers and some farming specialists, even people employed with us, soon frustrated our effort. This creates tremendous difficulties. They do not respect agreements on the planting pattern, they sow what they like, they buy seed and fertilizer cheap (using privileges), and they speculate with finished farm products," Sigulinski says.

Finally, it also seems that the renting of land will be a topic at the 17th Conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina. The materials prepared for the conference state: "The effort to staff OOUR's for cooperation has been inadequate. In addition, a number of agricultural experts have been having an adverse impact on overall relations in rural areas because they have been leasing land."

Approval From Reader

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82
p 17

[Reader's response from Adam Stosic, M.A., a teacher in Krusevac: "For Bread or for Talk"]

[Text] The occasion of this letter is the article in the last issue of NIN entitled "Some New Peasants," but also 10 or so articles on the same topic in other newspapers. Echoing through all the articles on the problem of food production are the slogans: "Food is our petroleum!" "Agriculture is the best chance to reduce the exchange deficit!" "More food, more exports, fewer imports!" and so on and so forth.

But all these appeals have a hard time getting to the principal protagonist in our agricultural drama--the peasant, since he knows quite well that "eloquence" cannot replace specific economic measures (production supplies, prices, etc.).

And the result of this attitude is that 800,000 hectares of the most fertile land are covered with weeds, and fields once wavy with golden grain are becoming habitats for all kinds of game and reptiles. (Incidentally, perhaps hunting is more profitable than corn and wheat.)

Is it any wonder that in a dispirited mood because of all this I felt joy when I read in the papers that in Vojvodina office workers, physicians, engineers, teachers and other specialists were beginning to engage in farming? It is said that they are renting abandoned land and earning good income with high yields. Well, I said, thank the Lord, things are beginning to move after all!

But, you can't beat the devil, a campaign has begun which as usual is enriching our "specialized" vocabulary. New labels have sprung up: agrobusiness, farmerization and the like. And disappointing new knowledge: the people who are renting that already abandoned land are actually social pests, since they are getting rich at the expense of someone else's labor power (in a time of high unemployment) and someone else's machinery (at a time when private machinery is only partially used). Those are some kind of new rich people! (Why, of course, they are not popular singers, nor showbusinessmen, nor rock groups or other groups that earn billions!)

What bothers me in this entire campaign is the implicit attitude that everything that is done outside socialized organizations represents an attack on agricultural policy (what policy?). This is clearly indicated by the allusions

to "well-off peasants" who are tilling leased land with their own machinery, paying "sizable sums of money at once and not drawing up any sort of contracts or giving receipts" (!). In short, the general conclusion of all these articles is this: The only correct way (even at this point) is for the peasants to join associations or for agricultural organizations to take over the neglected land.

Yet at this point is it still not more important to stimulate production by every means, regardless of who is doing it (it would be fine if we all threw ourselves into our work), but, of course, without abuse, which should be punished. Large-scale farm production will help the producer both in terms of health and finances, and society will also benefit from this. For all the constant urgings, the motivation to enter into association will come without coercive measures in and of itself when the profitability of that transaction becomes evident. (This has not been proven as yet.)

And we are left to finally decide between bread and talk!

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